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THE SURVIVAL OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH IN SOUTHERN MARYLAND *

Like many other historical facts, the survival of the Catholic Faith in Southern Maryland is apt to be taken for granted, until one considers the possibility that a quite different story might have been told. As the Catholic Church is a sociological institution by its very constitution, the survival of the beliefs, practice, and culture of Catholicism is itself of sociological significance; and is therefore a matter of great interest even to those who do not accept the Catholic Faith. It is natural, therefore, to seek the causes of this survival, particularly a survival under special difficulties; over a very long period of time—three hundred years.

A. Obstacles to the Survival of Maryland Catholicism.

1. Survival of Catholicism in Southern Maryland was not aided by any national bond or national tradition, as in the case of other Catholic (or non-Catholic) national groups. There was not, for instance, a memory of national struggles for the Faith, as opposed to the imposition of other religious from outside, as in the case of the Poles and Irish. The national struggles of the English Catholics had been, for the most part, waged by a Protestant regime against Catholic nations. Catholicism had disappeared by that time from the official life of the English people.

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There were, it is true, for the early colonists, certain hallowed memories or traditions of England's Catholic days. This was seen in the much-maligned appeal made by Thomas Cornwaleys to the rights of the Church under a Catholic civilization. Some distinctively Catholic social practices had been retained by the early colonists. But these were only frail blossoms transplanted across the ocean; and of themselves were speedily forgotten in a couple of generations.

2. Social pressure discouraged the survival of Catholicism. This was from various sources:

a) Legal disabilities. These affected private life by closing the door to opportunity by interfering with education, particularly with Catholic education; and deprived Catholics of the right to assert themselves by proper legislative representation.

b) Inferior economic status, as a natural result of the preceding.

c) Social disapproval. This was exerted in various ways: partly as a consequence of the disgrace attached to inferior economic status in a civilization which had strong commercial traditions; partly as a consequence of direct anti-religious prejudices, which attached a stigma to such modes and usages as were inspired by the proscribed belief.

d) The development of a minority state of mind and minority situation in the (locally) majority, Catholic group. This led, in the course of time and with the progress of Catholicism, to a peculiar resistance and aggressiveness on the part of the local minority (non-Catholic) body, heightened by their consciousness of belonging to a dominant majority in the nation, and even in the Colony or State of Maryland itself. To be remembered in this connection is the susceptibility, by training and by national character, of the Anglo-Saxon element to social pressure of a certain kind; more effective with them than, for instance, with the Germans, whose chief concern was not so much with what people thought of them as with what their fathers had done before them. Hence the tendency among the Marylanders to a conservatism of sentiment, rather than to a conservatism of institutions.

3. The actual economic and social situation: Survival of Catholicism is always rendered difficult by such social or economic conditions as tend to discourage solidarity and unity in the Catholic religious community. But—such a discouraging condition obtained in Old Maryland.

a) The patriarchal state of Maryland society discouraged unity and solidarity. Maryland was not so much a commonwealth as an association of families, with whose fates were inextricably united the population of poor whites, free Negroes, and slaves.

b) The institution of slavery, with its drastic connotation of actual ownership and consequent disregard for human personality, is of its nature adverse to the Catholic concept of Christian unity of high and low in the common bond of membership in Christ. Great as are the natural incongruities which slavery presented to Christian fellowship in the ancient or medieval world, or in more recent times in Latin-American countries, they are not as extreme as those implied in the American system of slavery, with its commercial, materialistic view of the human person.

c) The vocational uncertainty of the Marylanders. The practice of Catholicism presupposes, normally, a certain stability and certainty of earthly vocation. Such certainty is the framework into which fits the institution of the family, since it ensures for the family stability and continuity. It likewise forms the natural basis of parish life, which is normally essential for the continuance of Catholicism.

The Marylanders, however, were not an industrial people. There was no tradition of artisanship and apprenticeship, outside of a few chance occupations such as might be found in any rural community. This condition was partly due to slavery, partly to the character and origin of the people themselves; partly to the lack of any outside influences helping to establish any forms of industry.

They were not, strictly speaking, an agricultural people. The social and economic conditions and the natural traits of the Marylander did not foster keen affection for the land. They did not feel that attachment to the soil which we see in the Pennsylvania Dutch or other strongly agricultural groups in the United States. Rather they shared with the generality of the Anglo-Saxon stock in the United States the tendency to regard the soil merely as a matter for commercial exploitation. The Catholic landlords grew naturally into such an attitude through their separation from the actual work of the land through slave labor and later through tenantry; also by reason of the disabilities which they had experienced, which made it more difficult for them to retain possession of inherited lands than was the case with the Protestant element. This is seen, in the fact that today there is

not a piece of property in St. Mary's County which has come down from the early days in the hands of any one Catholic family. The tenant group, on the other hand, had not the stake in the land which would prompt them to acquire a keen agricultural interest, and a large number of them developed the habit of frequent change of residence. Hence the continual draining, in later years, from Old Maryland of its best sons and daughters, of all classes and both races.

4. Geographical circumstances added to the difficulty of preserving Catholicism. Until the most recent years, transportation and consequently human intercourse have always been a problem of capital difficulty in this country so cut into by numberless water courses. Parish schools were considered practically impossible until very late. Added to this was

5. the ecclesiastical isolation which presented so grave a problem in the history of the Church in the United States. For well nigh two centuries there was no Bishop for the people and clergy of Old Maryland. For a century and a half the Sacrament of Confirmation was not administered to them. At certain periods, as in the days of Father Mosley, there was a great paucity of the clergy. There were not, nor could there be, institutions in colonial times for the training of the clergy at home. There was a deadly isolation from the entire current of Catholic life and thought; from Catholic books, from contact with Catholic culture and Catholic lands.

B. Causes of the Survival.

For Christians, particularly where religious history is concerned, there can be no such a thing as an historic fact purely isolated in the natural order from the supernatural. In the economy of the Incarnation, the two are blended, and the working of the one cannot be fully understood without the other. The following appear as the three principal factors, under God's special Providence, for the survival of the Faith in Old Maryland: favorable social and economic circumstances—prevailing to some extent over those which we have listed as unfavorable; favorable

religious and moral traditions among the people themselves; and the direct influence of the Church.

I. *Social and economic circumstances.* These, despite all discouraging obstacles of social or political nature, helped to maintain the continuity of the Catholic community of Maryland as such. They gave it a certain integrity of character, which enabled it to weather the ages more successfully than many another American community more favorably placed. These circumstances may be thus summarized:

1. Providence, and the wisdom of the first Founders who chose the site of the Colony, provided a *natural economic basis* for the daily life of the people of Old Maryland. The soil of Maryland has provided from time immemorial the good conditions for a crop which at all times in its history, other things being normal, has been saleable and a source of continual, even if moderate, revenue: Southern Maryland tobacco. The waters of Old Maryland, offering a thousand miles of salt-water shore line in St. Mary's County alone, have ever been favorable to the production of seafood of edible and usually marketable varieties: oysters, crabs, fish of different types. It is noteworthy that both forms of production, tobacco by land and oysters and other forms of seafood by sea such as mannoes (maninosen) or clams, were already in use by the Indians before the first colonists landed at St. Clement's and St. Mary's City. Yet today tobacco and seafood still form the principal basis of the economy of Southern Maryland. Three centuries of agricultural development and of industrial change throughout our vast nation made no substantial alteration in the relationship of the people of Old Maryland to the principal source of their physical existence.

The depression, which left the wealthy farmers of the Mississippi Valley figuring second and third mortgages upon the black soil to which their ancestors emigrated from the effete East—many of them from Maryland itself—while it has caused abundant suffering in Southern Maryland, has not been able to rob that land of its peculiar asset: the Southern Maryland type of tobacco, the market for which has never been totally destroyed.

During the critical years for the Faith in Maryland, when disabilities lay heaviest on those families upon whose physical continuity the continuity of the Catholic religion depended, the tobacco economy, supplemented by the subsistence elements provided by water products offered a material basis for life which was sufficiently abundant to compensate for the Catholics' relatively meager acreage, about one-tenth of that of the Protestants in Maryland in 1753, and to preserve them from complete emigration or entire extinction.

2. This natural economy had also another favorable feature: it helped to form habits of life which were conducive to the preservation of the Faith. The tobacco industry, it is true, does not call for a maximum output of energy: rather for patience and feeling for the soil. Time is consumed in minor, largely mechanical operations for those who cultivate the soil with their own hands, and a corresponding amount of time for those who supervise the work of the field-hands. Tobacco is grown more by instinct than by scientific method; and this was particularly true in colonial days, when less care had to be expended than now upon the soil, when costs were not so closely reckoned and the market was more secure from competition. The placid habits of the tobacco grower influenced, in the course of time, the character, traits, and even the physique of the white population of Maryland. And it had its effect, too, upon the character of the Negroes.

Tobacco growing favors division of labor: there is abundant work, of a not too exhausting kind, for the members of the largest family or household. Such division, however, is favorable to stability of family life. It helped, in its own way, to preserve the family spirit not only among the wealthier and aristocratic classes of Catholic Maryland but among the humbler elements upon which the community was founded.

Alternation of land and water industry favored still more division of labor, and acted as a preservative, among the humbler elements, against that sodden stagnation of soul and body which is apt to beset those employed perpetually in a monotonous occupation. Water industries provided for the Southern Marylander that spice of enterprise and mild adventure which was needed to offset the plodding labor of the fields. This, in turn, added a certain diversification to the popular character.

Of themselves, none of these factors would account for the preservation of religious faith and practice. But they gave to the popular character that tone of natural social diversification based upon function, that degree of natural contentment, which enabled the restricted ministrations of the Church to keep a hold upon popular life which might have been lost under a less fortunate economy. They also favored a marked development of neighborhood life.

3. To the above social and economic circumstances may be added the striking fact of the unbroken peace which this particular section of the country enjoyed. Save by the enlistment of its own sons, Old Maryland was practically untouched, in a military sense, in either the Revolutionary or the Civil War. The only armed force which ever invaded the peninsula, after the Puritan skirmishes in the earliest times of the Colony, was the British invasion in the war of 1812, the chief effect of which was the robbery of the Jesuit Fathers' residence at St. Inigoes. The guns of Bull Run were heard in St. Mary's, according to some of the old residents; but no engagements were fought in the peninsula. The unbroken peace of

three centuries may not have been a major factor in the preservation of religion. But it undoubtedly was another contributing agent in the maintenance of the long, slender thread of religious continuity.

4. To this might be added the absence, in general, of immigration. Immigration might, it is true, have had the effect of strengthening the religious tradition, if it had been of the assimilable and yet the Catholic type. But it could easily have proved, as it actually did in some of the instances in the peninsula, an agency weakening to the Catholic body, due to the importation of elements unfavorable to the Faith, and disturbing to the harmonious relations of Church and people.

II. The second element in the survival of Catholicism, more tangible than the preceding, were the religious and moral traditions favorable to such survival which the Catholics of Maryland brought with them from their mother country. To describe these in detail would be to write the history of the Catholic families of Maryland; but characteristics may be briefly indicated.

1. There was the tradition of the family itself, as a continuing organism. The history of Maryland has been aptly described as the history of families, rather than the history of a commonwealth. If this applies to the State in general, it certainly applies to its oldest components. The family, more than the community or neighborhood, was the most conspicuous unit of Maryland life. Its nearest rival was the parish; and one of the interesting, if at times troublesome features of Catholic life in that country was the relationship between the family as contrasted with the territorial religious grouping of the population. As will be pointed out, the system of personal or home ministration, so widely adopted by the earlier missionaries, helped to solve that problem.

The intense family spirit of the English Catholics was both their strength and their weakness. Their strength, since it contributed to purity of morals, continuity of physical existence, diversification of function, and dignity of life. It provided the theater for those noble cultural developments which, in turn, gave birth to great statesman like the Carrolls, jurists like Taney, prelates like Archbishop Carroll and the Spaldings, religious women like Mother Hardey. It stamped a sublime tradition upon the Catholic life of the nation. Together with the concept of religious liberty, the family spirit of Old Maryland was one of that region's greatest contributions to the Republic. Their weakness, since the family tended to become self-centered, to substitute reasons of family convenience for public welfare; and by reason of its very intimacy and perfection, the family tended to discourage effective social development and to encourage an unreasonable clinging to the status quo, and to screen, under the later

more democratic regimes, the activities of the petty politician. It stood likewise in the way of that spiritual detachment from which spring vocations for the priesthood and the religious life. These have been comparatively infrequent in Southern Maryland, as compared with less patriarchal and more industrial communities. Still, the advantages of the family spirit outweighed its imperfections. Time, with its leveling influence, has tended to create the desired balance.

2. One of the finest flowers of the family spirit was the solicitude for Catholic education which was a tradition with the early colonists. No personal sacrifice or risk, no consideration of expenditure, stood in the way when there was question of obtaining a Catholic education for their young. The annals of the early Colony enshrine a long record of boys sent abroad to obtain a Catholic education wherever possible in the Old World, since its facilities were denied them in the new. Out of this desire for Catholic education for the children of the leading families grew Georgetown College, for the boys, and the Georgetown Visitation Academy, for the girls of Southern Maryland.

The tradition that the children of the leading families should receive a thoroughly Catholic education persisted throughout the history of this region to the present day. It led to the establishment of several private schools for Catholic children in the peninsula, such as (in the last century) the school of the Misses Neale, at Bel Alton (St. Thomas' Manor), or that of Miss Nellie Greenwell, in Leonardtown. Almost fifty years ago St. Mary's Academy conducted by the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Ky., was founded in Leonardtown for that purpose, and was a forerunner of Leonard Hall Academy and the parochial schools which have since sprung up in the parishes of Southern Maryland.

The lack of parish schools, for the benefit of the Catholic people at large, was a serious drawback to the region at all times, and was doubtless responsible for the loss of a great many souls to the Faith, as well as for the emigration of a considerable portion of the Catholic population from the community. Nevertheless, the fact that also at all times there were present a small, but prominent and fairly influential minority of men and women well-grounded in the Faith as well as in the elements of general culture; some of whom taught in local district schools, like Ignatius Langley; others who held office in State or County, or edited local periodicals, or devoted themselves to work for their local parish churches, or to catechetical efforts, formed a certain background of Catholic principle, moral and religious, which was a valuable assistance to the parish clergy in interpreting the teachings of the Church to the people.

3. Nor can such an estimate pass over the fact that the early Catholic colonists brought with them from England a hallowed tradition of constancy in the profession of their religion. The families of many of these

people were already ennobled by actual martyrs or confessors for the Faith. They were already inured to the hardship of religious persecution. They had been brought up from childhood in the consciousness that their religion could be professed only with great difficulty; that they should be daunted by no physical or moral obstacles. They were used to pursuivants, priest-hunters, etc., as was seen in the correspondence upon this subject between the colonists and the second Lord Baltimore. Hence there was no novelty for them in traveling long distances to attend Mass; or in assisting at Mass under painful circumstances of cold, heat, poverty, and exposure. The priest had already acquired in their lives that unique position of companionship with a race hunted for conscience' sake, which he has enjoyed, in greater or lesser degree, in Ireland, Germany under Bismarck, Mexico, etc. Tradition had already laid the foundation for that intimacy of priest and people that gave them under all circumstances immediate access to the Sacraments of the Church, particularly to the Holy Eucharist.

Time modified in Maryland, of course, as it did in the mother country, the ardent martyr or confessor consciousness of the old Catholic families. Yet the old fire smouldered in families like the Neales, whose habits of thought, down to our day, were cast in the confessor mould.

4. Intimately associated with this tradition of constancy were certain traits of conduct and morals which favored retention of contact with the sacramental system of the Church: the tradition in particular of respect for holy things and places and of reverence for sacred ministers.

III. The final, but the most essential factor in the preservation of the Faith in Maryland was the direct influence of the Church. This may be considered from the standpoint of the training and the personal character of the missionaries; or of the pastoral method which they adopted. Since the former topic has been recently treated (*American Ecclesiastical Review*, January, 1934, "The Priesthood in Colonial Maryland") by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, with the greatest ability and insight, I confine myself to the pastoral aspect.

The chief distinctive features of the Jesuit pastoral method in old Maryland were, generally speaking: the special care of families; generous ministry of the altar; and abundant social life for the people. To these may be added the special circumstances created by the identification of the clergy with the manor lands, which, as will be seen, had its lights and shades as well.

1. *Special care of families.* The English missionaries brought

with them a long and vigorous tradition as to the importance of the spiritual care of the individual family. Everything favored such a tradition: their experience as ministering to the private families in England; the high position which the family held in the life of the people; the patriarchal manner of existence; the difficulties, from a physical, geographical, and from a political point of view, which attended collective action and free association of the members of the community.

Their work may be summed up under the following heads: family visiting; family ministrations; and family instructions.

That hospitable social relations, both as to give and take, among the older missionaries did not lead to abuses or degenerate into familiarities is a tribute to their long and honorable record, as well as to the English traits of moderation and restraint in social intercourse. With rare exceptions, no serious detriment seems to have been suffered to the priestly life. The visitations took the missionaries away from the stolid atmosphere of their own manor lands; they brought them into contact with the best and most cultured minds the Colony had to offer; and kept them alert as to public opinion. Few names were held in greater benediction in Old Maryland than that of Father Joseph Carbery, S. J. He was loved, says a letter of Mr. J. Edwin Coad written from Drayden, Md., on July 28, to Father Carbery's nephew, Mr. Shoemaker, "by the entire Community, all colors, creeds, and conditions . . . He quite often gave fine dinners and hardly ever failed to have one or two Protestant friends present, and was often a guest of theirs when they gave an entertainment." . . . He was full of jokes and humour. Father Carbery, however, was but following a tradition.[1]

[1] "Maryland is noted for its hospitality. But in no house in the whole state were guests more welcome, or more kindly received, than in Newtown Manor during the time our Fathers resided there. In many respects, it seems to have been conducted on the plan of the old monasteries of the middle ages. Here those who came fasting to early Mass were sure of a good and substantial breakfast. Here the poor received liberal alms, and the sick received medicine gratuitously. Though the Newtown Manor had for many years a great number of colored servants, it gained nothing from their labor. In fact, they were a real burden to the Fathers who were obliged to clothe and feed them, and always treated them as children. So much attached to Newtown

The tradition of hospitality, given or taken, was not confined to the more privileged families. The missionary's task was to visit every home in his district, without regard to station or color. It is understood that the priest in sharing the hospitality of the humbler families of the district in no way impaired the honor felt by the better conditioned families in receiving him.

Special provisions were made for the priest's reception. Many of the older homes, such as Bushwood, had a special "priest's room" set aside for his use, never occupied save at his coming. Private chapels were abundant, and the home was made a local mission center.

Families were carefully instructed in the art of giving catechetical instruction to the members of the household: not family and relatives alone, but all souls on the place. Few customs of Old Maryland were more picturesque than the gathering of the entire personnel of the plantation, slaves and all, on Lenten evenings in the manor house, there to be relentlessly catechized by the mistress or daughter of the household. So thorough was this instruction that practically to this day old people are found in whose memories are imbedded the catechism lessons learned orally in former years. The duty of giving these instructions, particularly to the Negroes and slaves, was one of the staple topics for the sermons of the eighteenth century, and was particularly inculcated by such apostolic men as Father George Hunter.

Down to our times, at least until the advent of the hard road and the automobile finally put an end to the old conditions of isolation, it was the understood thing in every more prosperous Catholic home that the priest should "stop by," hear confessions and distribute Holy Communion, should share home hospitality, say Mass, if possible, the following morning, and should feel free to give what warnings, instructions, and doctrinal lessons he should see fit before departing.

were its servants, that when they were obliged to leave, I have been told that great, indeed, was their sorrow." William P. Treacy, "Historical Points Connected with Newtown Manor and Church, St. Mary's County, Maryland," in *Woodstock Letters*, 13, No. 1, 71.

2. *Ministry of the Altar.* Considering the many handicaps that were experienced, it is remarkable how generous was the tradition of the ministry of the altar in Old Maryland. The Church lacked those opportunities for full liturgical development which were offered by a Catholic country. Under the penal regime the very title of "church" was denied as in Ireland, to the Catholic place of worship; and it was obliged to share the title of "chapel" with the Wesleyans and other sectaries. Nevertheless, every effort appears to have been made to lend to Catholic worship whatever dignity circumstances would permit. The colonial churches were the repositories, in many cases, of one or the other work of art, sometimes copies of the Old Masters, at a time when public exposition of works of art was practically unknown. The care of the sacristy was considered an honored occupation in the early days, as it is today in the missions of Maryland. The Rev. William P. Treacy, tells of one such person who resided at New Town Manor:

> In the beginning of this century, a neat little cottage, with a small porch attached to it, stood here, near the present burial-ground of Alexander Merriman. The last inmate of the cottage was a Miss Jennie Digges. This lady is described by old residents, as a venerable person of superior attainments and great piety. She used to attend, in her younger days, to the altar of the Newtown Church. She seems, from all accounts of her, to have been something like a nun. Indeed, we find that our early Fathers had in their vicinity some very pious persons who used to attend to the decoration of the church, and who lived under something like a religious rule.[2]

Musical accomplishments of the Catholic colonists found their outlet in the choir. Frequent devotional services; frequent instruction and preaching, and, for the times, frequent receptions of the Sacraments appear to have characterized the Maryland ministry at all times.[3]

[2] *Loc. cit.*, 13, No. 2, 116.

[3] Father Stephen Dubuisson, S. J., visiting the missions in 1827, leaves a graphic account. Beginning at St. Inigoes on Christmas Day, he and his companions "passed on in succession to all the other churches, working without intermission for thirty-three days. At St. Inigoes', the weather was unpropitious—heavy and chilling rain—yet, there was one hundred and fifty persons in church and fifty received Holy Communion. On the following

The sermons that have been preserved for us from the eighteenth century were of the practical rather than the oratorical variety, stressing social as well as individual duties.

Confraternities and pious organizations of one kind or other appear to have characterized Catholic church life from an early date. In the eighteenth century Father Walton's Diary records the names of confraternity members. Father Hunter, at St. Thomas' Manor, lists the members of the society which he established to insure perpetual adoration, divided between the members of the parish, of the Blessed Sacrament during twelve hours of each day. In the nineteenth century, the confraternity of the Holy Rosary, the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, and the League of the Sacred Heart began the active part which they have since taken in Maryland parish life.

Sunday, the church was filled. It seems that there was not a Catholic who had not resolved to gain the Indulgence; fifteen persons were received into the bosom of the Church. At St. Nicholas', the same zeal, the same eagerness on the part of the faithful. This parish is larger than that of St. Inigoes, and the confessions were more numerous. St. John's Church; Can be said to be in the woods. The parish is poor, but populous. The few well-to-do members of the congregation would have to defray all the expense of completing and ornamenting this church. The missionaries were lodged in different houses, some of them at a distance of five or six miles from the church. They set off before daybreak to go and say Mass, and to be on hand at an early hour to hear confessions; but they always found quite a number of the faithful there beforehand, waiting for their coming. The persevering attendance of the people at the exercises was wonderful . . . with what lively interest did they inspire us as they thronged about the confessionals, which were nothing more than an angle in some corner of the church, screened off with counterpanes hung around. Newtown was our fourth station . . . St. Joseph's was then the object of our cares. The people here came to the services, and remained in the church more perseveringly, it seemed, than anywhere else. We could not think of going away before supper time. Many persons remained in the church all day; and they stayed not merely to confess, but even *fasting*, in order to be able to receive Holy Communion, which we administered until sunset. Perhaps it will not be without interest to remark here that in the greater number of these churches, there are no benches, or scarcely any (chairs are not used here as in Europe), so that the greater part, and sometimes almost all of those present were obliged to stand or kneel during the Mass and sermon, that is to say for a couple of hours at least, independent of the time they spent in church before and after the services; and that too in the depth of winter, and in churches exposed to the winds. . . ." Edward I. Devitt, S. J., "History of the Maryland-New York Province," *Woodstock Letters*, 61, No. 2, 178-180.

Catholic literature, of the devotional or of the instructive variety, far from being a brilliant discovery of recent times, was held in high honor in the colonial days. In his sketch of the "Jesuit Farms in Maryland," Father Joseph Zwinge, S. J. mentions—

> . . . also many books of controversy and even literature, which used to be loaned out to the people, like The Roman Catholic's Plea, Catholic Christian Instructed, England's Conversion, Shortest Way to End Disputes, Hell Opened, etc. Moreover they used to have a stock of Manuals, rosaries, scapulars and pictures for sale in order to provide the people with their articles of devotion. This little book store is still in existence in these missions. The old libraries of St. Inigo's, of St. Thomas' and of White Marsh have been destroyed by fire in the last century, whilst most of the old books of Newtown, Bohemia and of the Pennsylvania Missions have been incorporated in the libraries of Woodstock and Georgetown.[4]

The generosity shown in the ministry of the altar was confined to no one condition or race. As the Indians took part, presumably, in Catholic worship in the earliest days of the Colony, the Negroes, slaves or free, were an integral part of its ecclesiastical life in later years. Every opportunity was afforded for them that was afforded for the whites in the matter of hearing Mass, attending instructions, receiving Holy Communion and the other Sacraments, as well as the house-to-house visits of the priest and his ministrations in illness or death. There was no tradition of separate churches or congregations in Old Maryland. The church was the Father's house, where all knelt before the same altar, and partook of the same Bread of Life. While separation was followed as to seating, there was little practical difference in comfort or convenience. The seats for the Negroes and slaves in the old St. Nicholas Church, now superseded by a modern structure but still standing as a church hall, were on either side of those occupied by the whites. The gallery pews in St. Ignatius Church, on St. Thomas' Manor, and its slightly older contemporary, St. Ignatius on St. Inigoes Manor, were arranged to give as close and convenient a view of the altar as did the gentry pews on the floor, while they were considerably more comfortable in drafty winter weather.

[4] *Woodstock Letters*, 40, No. 1, 73-74.

The zeal displayed by the missionaries in safeguarding the Sacrament of Matrimony for the slaves, a matter frequently of delicate negotiation or of open conflict with masters of the more utilitarian and less scrupulous variety, was of prime importance in the preservation of Catholicism for the Negro population itself, securing the Faith as it were at the very source. It had undoubtedly a profound indirect influence upon the faith of the white population itself. It was a perpetual demonstration before their eyes of the sublime indifference of the Christian religion to all worldly and external considerations. It was proof of the Church's confidence in the power of sacramental grace to transcend the most patent obstacles to its functioning. It showed the majesty of the Church's authority under circumstances which were unfavorable to such a demonstration: no sanction from government, individualistic and wilful habits of life and contrary economic interests.

But the Church's spiritual care of the Negro had still another influence upon the faith of the white man; one which I have frequently witnessed in the course of my own ministrations in Old Maryland. God's grace bloweth where it listeth, fructifies in humble souls wherever they are found. In every Maryland parish, at all times, there were, and still are found, certain of the colored race of more than ordinary piety and sanctity: chosen souls, who by the purity and simplicity of their lives give edification to all, and are venerated by their white neighbors. The influence of such characters was not by the way of example alone. In Maryland, as in other parts of the South, the slave or the house servant played an intimate part in the care of little children. As a degenerate or conscienceless servant could ruin the young, so could conscientious and pious souls exert a deep influence for good upon them. The lessons of religion heralded at the altar by its ministers were frequently repeated in private to Maryland children by their humble Negro nurse, with an apostolic frankness in the case of old and trusted servants. They were warned against sin, taught to pray, reminded to attend the Sacraments, encouraged to practice virtue. Only the records of eternity will show the part that Catholic Negroes played in preserving the faith among the growing generations of Maryland.

One factor should not be passed over in estimating the missionary ministrations in Southern Maryland; their readiness to multiply facilities in the way of church building. Once the prohibitions of the eighteenth century were over, indeed in certain instances while they were still extant, the missionaries eagerly multiplied churches wherever they could be conveniently established. The site of some of these churches was ideal. Some others were determined apparently by the gifts of generous individuals rather than by the aptness of the location. Nevertheless, they were liberally distributed through the country, and this without regard to the convenience of the missionaries in attending them.

3. *Social Life Encouraged by the Church.* The part played by the Church in promoting the social life of the colonists and their descendants would require a special paper or indeed a book. A few salient points, however, may be mentioned.

a) Since the Marylanders were ever sociably inclined, the missionaries' part consisted not so much in stimulating this life, for it needed no stimulus, but rather in recognizing it, and bringing it within channels profitable to the spiritual life of the people. The Jesuits in Maryland, like the Dominicans in Kentucky, took a liberal and humane stand towards innocent recreation. There were occasional exceptions, of course; individual pastors who strove to impose more rigorous views of supposedly worldly amusements. Experience taught these, however, the impossibility of going against the ingrained character of the people.

As the problem of Church support arose, and the manor lands could no longer be looked to for the sole support of the missionaries and their works, social functions came to play a practical part. Entertainments such as dances, church suppers, annual festivals, tournaments, with their chivalric trappings, and dramatic or musical performances were a recognized means for supplying this deficiency, and helped to bridge the difficulty which came from the traditional disinclination of the people to regular monetary contributions. Protestants and Catholics followed the same system with minor variations.

b) Considerable criticism has been uttered, at various times,

of priests and people alike to their dependence upon these devices for the serious matter of church sustenance. Like everything else, the matter could be overdone; and in latter times the people gradually learned, with varying degrees of success, to conform themselves to the methods of church support customary in this country. Nevertheless, the encouragement given by the Church to the social life of the people, whether for practical reasons or merely as a concession to their social spirit, was a principal factor in the preservation of Catholicism. Some of its effects may be listed as follows:

Development of the parish sense and community spirit among Catholics. the Church, her feasts and fasts, becoming the center of the social life of the community.

Friendly relations of priest and people, with opportunity for the pastor to familiarize himself with the economic and spiritual situation of his flock.

Encouragement of Catholic marriages, by association among the young.

Removal, by substitution of innocent enjoyment, of the occasions for debauchery and vice.

Encouragement of a certain degree of leadership among the more worthy members of the parish. With the colored people this has had a marked influence in the formation of their character, and led to the establishment of Catholic beneficial societies for their welfare, which taught them thrift, cooperative habits, and mutual charity, and set a certain human sanction on regularity in the practice of their religion, as well as on regular instruction of their children in the Catholic Faith.

It would be an attractive theme, but one which would carry us far afield into local history, to recall the numberless picturesque and unique features of the Catholic social life of Old Maryland, whether in the Colonial, the more recent, or in modern times. Happily this characteristic of Maryland Catholicism has withstood to some extent the onslaught of modern commercialized amusement.

IV. *The Manor lands.* The fact that the Church for the greater part of its history in Southern Maryland was obliged by the conditions of its existence to play the part of the landed proprietor was anything but an unmixed benefit for religion. The drawbacks of the manorial system by which the missionaries and their works were maintained are all too well known.

Possession of the manor lands ensured to the clergy a life that had apparently enviable features. They were looked upon as landed proprietors, care-free from earthly worries. Hence a certain amount of jealousy always attended this system. "The Catholic clergy live on the fat of the land," was the querulous remark of a local non-Catholic worthy—long since gone to his reward—to this writer around 1912. The good man's mind had inherited traditional feeling concerning the manors. Yet the facts of the case were painfully the opposite. Not only did the manor lands, particularly in recent times, not provide all that was needed even for the most frugal existence of the missionary, but they failed to provide for needs of the churches themselves. They were administered by men usually unfitted for the work by training as well as by inclination. They suffered, moreover, the serious drawback of minimizing the sense of dependence of priest upon people, with its corollary of church support. They encouraged a certain mild complacency with conditions that did not always make for vigorous enterprise and progress.

The manor system placed the clergy in the tragically inconsistent position of owning slaves, and, by that token, in participating in the trade of slaves; though in point of fact this participation was a mitigation of the slaves' condition, an escape for them from unsupportable conditions. Looked at from the position of the individual slaves who were affected by the manor system; apart from the deprivation of liberty of movement and occupation; apart from the personal hazards that could arise even under a benign regime of this nature, the manor conferred certain very definite benefits. It guaranteed spiritual welfare and consideration for the Negroes as human beings, and even a certain degree of independent economic opportunity; for the manor slaves were free to earn money and to conduct small business on their own account. The sole blot that appears to stand against the long record of humanity and recognition of human worth in the treatment of the Negroes upon the Jesuit manors was when—in good faith, and for economy's sake, but in shortsighted judgment—some of the slaves were sold out of the system into the hands of private persons who eventually proved faithless to their trust.

Looked at from a wider point of view, from the viewpoint of the entire situation of the Negro in this country, the very patriarchal kindness of the system had its drawbacks, as an apparent countenancing of evils which manifested themselves when not restrained by the rule of conscience and humanity which prevailed upon the manors. Slavery and the slave-trade, deprived of their painful and inhuman aspects, did not appear upon the manors as a necessary object of the Church's protest, as it did, for instance when a Blessed Anthony Claret lifted up his voice against the trade as Archbishop of Havana. The isolation and simplicity of life upon the manors encouraged a certain complacency of attitude, which did not always make for vigor either in ideas or in enterprise and progress. However, this same peace and stability did make for perpetuity; and it is that with which we are here concerned.

In contrast, then to these drawbacks of the manor system, we may note:

1. The manor lands gave stability and perpetuity to the Church in the Penal Days. Their broad acres were ever a haven for Catholic life. No matter how great the disabilities under which their flock labored, the clergy were always able to maintain, through the manors, these centers of religious life.

2. The manor system enabled the Church to demonstrate a regime of humanity in dealing with the Negro population which served as an example to secular proprietors. In doing so, they were able to instruct the Negroes, and care for them spiritually, watching over their morals, their family life and sacramental life, in a more intimate and authoritative way than was possible in dealing with them under secular proprietors. Thus the Church could keep the Faith alive among this class of the population, with the benefits that have already been described.

3. The manor system kept a close contact between the clergy and the agricultural or economic life of the people for whom they worked. It taught them the conditions under which their people made their daily bread: they learned the realities of daily life; of drought and storm, of market and taxes, etc. This again established a certain bond of sympathy, the lack of which, in some of our Catholic rural parishes through the country, has not benefited the relations of priest and people. The priest enjoyed a certain standing in civic life. However the Church may have been antagonized or ignored, his person could not be fully ignored.

4. Finally, it was the manor lands, with the responsibilities they en-

tailed, which kept the clergy together as a body through the dark days of the Suppression. The necessity of preserving these lands as a sacred trust obliged the clergy to maintain their association and to perfect their corporate existence. Thus these lands were an extremely important factor in the preservation of Catholicism by preparing the way for the hierarchical life of the Church in this country; while they also paved the way for the restoration, in Maryland, of the Society of Jesus.

Says an ancient Greek proverb: "War, or conflict, is the father of all things": *polemos pater panton*. The story of Catholicism in Southern Maryland is a long conflict: an inextricable warp and woof of circumstances, institutions, elements, and persons, which contributed to its preservation or militated against the same. But the presence of those elements which militated against it set the stage for those elements which preserved it. The obstacles were the occasion of the triumph; the Cross of Christ won through opposition, and in the duel of life and death, life was the victor.

The perseverance of Catholicism as a sociological fact despite the grinding influences that ever sought to wear away its very roots, is in itself a striking testimony to the social power of the Church. It is an indication of that inward life which the Faith implants in the souls of all those who accept it and live according to it. While it is a serious warning not to incur by neglect the risks in the future that were suffered involuntarily in the past; it is at the same time a glorious pledge that Catholicism cannot fail or perish, when its inner resources of teaching and ministry are combined with a due regard for the natural conditions of human welfare.

JOHN LAFARGE.

THE VINLAND PROBLEM THROUGH FOUR CENTURIES

Norse voyagers visited the eastern shores of North America in the early years of the eleventh century—so much is conceded by nearly all historians of America, as either certain or very probable. Even Nansen, who maintained in his *In Northern Mists* (1911) that the narratives of such voyages as told in the Icelandic sagas are legendary, holds that the Norsemen reached America. The Vinland problem as treated by the earlier commentators was concerned with the reliability of the Icelandic narratives as historical records; in more recent years the questions discussed have related to the details of the voyages, not to the presence of the voyagers on the American continent, which is accepted as certain. How many voyages were made? Who took part in them? What parts of America were visited? Who were the Skrellings, as the Norsemen called the natives with whom they came in contact? Such are the questions that go to make up the Vinland problem of today.

The number of writers on this subject amounts to over four hundred, of whom some were mere compilers, some were critics, and others were investigators who personally visited the localities along the American coast that, for climatic, topographic or ethnologic reasons, were held by them to conform with the descriptions of Helluland, Markland and Vinland.

I

The original sources of our knowledge of the Vinland voyages are (1) two main narratives, and (2) certain incidental allusions, all in Icelandic. The main narratives, which differ as to the number of voyages, as to those who took part in them, and in other important respects, are held by some recent critics [1] to represent, one the Icelandic tradition and the other the Greenlandic. The

[1] Cf. Edward F. Gray, *Leif Eriksson Discoverer of America: A. D. 1003* (New York, 1930).

Hauk's Book (AM 544),[2] named for Hauk Erlendsson, an Icelandic "lawman," and partly in his handwriting, presents the Icelandic tradition, Hauk claiming descent from Karlsefni. Another manuscript, entitled "Saga of Eric the Red" (AM 557), follows Hauk so closely, although with minor variations, that it is supposed to have been derived from the same source. The Greenlandic tradition has been transmitted in two so-called tales ("Thættr,") one of which continues the other. These are found in the Flatey Book, by which name they are sometimes cited, where they stand as interpolations in the Saga of King Olaf Tryggvason. One is called "The Tale of Eric the Red" and the other "The Tale of the Greenlanders." These narratives were handed down by oral tradition for at least two hundred years before they were committed to writing. As to dates, Hauk's Book could not have been written, at least the Vinland portion, later than 1334, the year of Hauk's death. The Saga of Eric the Red is assigned to the year 1400; the Flatey Book was written between 1387 and 1395.[3] When the originals, from which these manuscripts were derived, were written is conjectural, but not before 1150.[4]

The question arises: how far minute details of the voyages could have been accurately transmitted by oral tradition from one generation to another. The rhumb of the wind before which, as a rule, the Norsemen sailed, the number of days sailing between points, the sequence of minor incidents, and the like may well have become altered in the telling. On the other hand, striking features of the landscape, especially when different from familiar sights in Greenland or Iceland, the appearance and behavior of strange-looking natives, their weapons and clothing, or the unusual climate and unfamiliar natural products of the new lands, as

[2] The symbol "AM" stands for "Arna-Magnæan" and, when combined with numbers, designates manuscripts in the collection of Icelandic manuscripts gathered in Iceland in 1702-1712 by the noted Danish antiquary Arne Magnusson. These manuscripts are preserved in the library of the University of Copenhagen.

[3] Arthur M. Reeves, *The Finding of Wineland the Good* (London, 1890).

[4] W. A. Craigie, *The Icelandic Sagas* (Roy. Inst. Gt. Brit., April 24, 1925, 1).

described by the returned voyagers, would be less liable to distortion as the tale was repeated.

Early ideas of the new lands in the west, current among the Icelanders, are known to us through certain allusions to Helluland, Markland, and Vinland, found in other Icelandic works. Ari the Learned, writing about 1134 in his Icelanders' Book, speaks of the Skrellings who inhabited Vinland; the Landnámabók (12th cent.) says that Vinland the Good, discovered by Karlsefni, lies near a region called White Men's Land; Kristni-Saga (13th cent.) says "Leif found Vinland the Good"; a like statement occurs in Friis' Book (ca. 1300) and in the Longer Saga of Olaf Tryggvason (ca. 1400). References to Helluland, Markland, and Vinland the Good are found in a Collectanea of Middle-Age Wisdom (1400-1450), in a Geographical Fragment, and in a Cosmography (1400). Icelandic Annals record that Bishop Eric "went in search of Vinland" in 1121; that a ship came to Iceland in 1347 with seventeen men who "had sailed to Markland."

The main narratives of the Vinland voyages run in outline as follows. Hauk's Book tells of three voyages; Flatey Book tells of six. Biarni Herjulfsson, according to Flatey Book, while on a voyage from Iceland to Greenland (986),[5] sighted in succession three lands which lay to larboard as he sailed past them. Leif Ericsson sailed from Greenland (1003) to explore these lands. His first landfall was a land of flat stones which he named Helluland; he next reached a wooded region that he called Markland; on an island that lay "northward off the land" he found sweet dew upon the grass. Thence steering into a sound that lay between the island and a north-jutting cape, he came to shallow tide-water, into which emptied a river that flowed out of a lake. On the shore of the lake he built "booths"; he later built a house, and wintered there. The climate was mild; the length of the shortest winter day is stated in terms that will be considered later. Finding an abundance of wild grapes, Leif named the region Vinland or Wineland. On his return voyage to Greenland he rescued a shipwrecked crew and became known as Leif the Lucky. In this party were Gudrid and her husband, Thori.

[5] The dates follow Gray, *op. cit.*

Hauk's Book tells a different story. Biarni is not mentioned, nor is any voyage of exploration by Leif. Instead, Leif, while sojourning at the court of Olaf Tryggvason in Norway, was converted to Christianity and sailed for Greenland (1000) to introduce the Faith there. On his way home he came upon lands unknown to him, on which he landed and found grapes and "self-sown wheat," besides timber, of which he brought a cargo back to Greenland. A shipwrecked party is rescued on *this* voyage. Gudrid is not mentioned in this connection but is said to have come to Greenland with Thorbiorn, her father, and friends.

Thorvald, a brother of Leif, next sailed to Vinland (1005) and reached Leif's Booths. He explored the coast to the west; while on an expedition along the northern coast he damaged his keel, which he set up on a cape (Keelness). On the shore of a firth he was killed by natives and was buried on a neighboring headland (Crossness). This is the story told in the Flatey Book. In Hauk's Book, however, Thorvald forms one of the company of Karlsefni. Thorstein, Leif's brother, next set out (1008) on a voyage for Vinland, but after losing his reckoning, returned. Both narratives mention this voyage; but Hauk says that Thorstein took Thorbiorn's ship and was accompanied by his father Eric; while Flatey says that he took Leif's ship and was accompanied by his wife Gudrid, her husband having died. The next winter Thorstein died.

Thorfinn Karlsefni, a wealthy Icelander, now arrived in Greenland and married Gudrid. Gathering a great company of 160 men, according to Hauk (but 60 men and 5 women according to Flatey), and taking his wife Gudrid, he sailed (1010) with three ships (Flatey says one ship) for Vinland to establish a colony there. On the way they named Helluland and Markland and Keelness. Beyond Keelness they came to long sandy strands that they named Wonderstrands; then entered a bay with an island at its mouth, where there were strong currents, on account of which they called the firth Streamfirth and the island Stream Isle. There they spent a hard winter. Thorhall the Hunter, one of the company, complaining that he had not found the promised

land of grapes, sailed northward with one ship and was lost. Karlsefni cruised southward, came to a land-locked bay (Hóp), where he was visited and later attacked by natives (Skrellings). So he returned northward to Streamfirth. While on a voyage around Keelness, in search of Thorhall, he encountered the Skrellings again and Thorvald Ericsson was killed by a "Uniped" (so Hauk's account). On his return voyage to Greenland Karlsefni captured two Skrelling boys from whom the Norsemen learned certain matters about their country. The Flatey Book says that Karlsefni arrived directly at Leif's Booths, that his son Snorri was born there, and that the Skrellings attacked him twice there.

A sixth voyage (1014) was, according to the Flatey Book, undertaken by Freydis, natural sister of Leif, in partnership with two brothers, Helgi and Finnbogi. After the arrival of their two ships at Leif's house, Freydis picked a quarrel, contrived to have the men of the other party murdered, and then with her own hand slew the women. Hauk relates that Freydis was on Karlsefni's expedition and played a part in the fight with the Skrellings.

II

The earliest mention of Vinland outside of Icelandic literature is by Adam, a canon of Bremen, who in his History of the Islands of the North[6] (1070), speaking of his meeting with Svend, King of Denmark, who was a friend of the Archbishop of Bremen, says:

> Moreover he spoke of an island in that ocean (*i. e.*, Atlantic) discovered by many, which is called Vinland for the reason that vines grow wild there, which yield the best of wine. Moreover, that grain unsown grows there abundantly is not a fabulous fancy but, from the accounts of the Danes, we know to be a fact. Beyond this island it is said that there is no habitable land in that ocean, but all those regions that are beyond are filled with insupportable ice and boundless gloom.

The idea seems to be that Vinland lay in the Ocean Stream that the Norsemen believed to encircle the landed surface of the world. The earliest map showing Vinland was drawn by Sigurd Stefans-

[6] *Descriptio insularum aquilonis*, a geographical appendix to his *Historia ecclesiastica, cura E. Lindenbruch* (Lugd. Bat., 1595).

son, a schoolmaster at Skalholt, Iceland, about 1570 (or 1590).[7] On this map the Promontorium Winlandiae appears extending northward on the east side of a bay that may represent the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or Cape Cod Bay, or even Chesapeake Bay.

Arngrim Jónsson (1568-1648), Icelandic historian, was the first to attempt to determine the location of Vinland by means of the length of the shortest winter day there. In the Tale of the Greenlanders (Flatey Book) a passage reads:

> There was no frost there in the winters and the grass withered but little. The days and nights there were of more nearly equal length than in Greenland or Iceland. On the shortest day of winter the sun was up between 'eyktarstad' and 'dagmalastad.'

Arngrim interpreted this statement to mean that the sun rose at nine o'clock in the morning and set at three in the afternoon. A day of six hours indicates latitude 58° 26′ (northern Labrador).[8]

Thormod Torfason (or Torfæus, 1640-1719), Danish antiquary, perceiving the incongruity of the climate of Labrador with that of Vinland, sought for a precise definition of "eykt." In Grágás, an ancient Icelandic work on canon law, he found: "By eykt is meant the time when the heavens between south and west are divided into three parts and the sun has completed two parts while the third remains." The Norsemen had no clocks. They divided the entire horizon into eight main divisions, each covering what we call three hours; the *middle point* of each of these main divisions corresponded to our points of the compass: north (midnight), east (morning), south (noon), and west (evening); the intermediate points were northeast, etc. "In order to determine these divisions of time, the inhabitants of each place," writes Finnur Magnusson,[9] "carefully observed the diurnal course of the sun and noted the terrestrial objects over which it seemed to

[7] Gray (*op. cit.*, 79) has reproduced the manuscript that is kept in the Royal Library at Copenhagen.

[8] *Gronlandia*, Skalholt, 1688.

[9] "On the Ancient Scandinavians' Division of the Times of the Day" (*Mém. Soc. Roy. Antiq. du Nord*, Copenhagen, 1836-39).

stand. Such a natural or artificial object was called in Iceland a 'daymark.'" The question is: Where was the daymark "eykt"? Torfæus, interpreting "eykt" to be the point of *time* two-thirds of the interval between noon and evening (six o'clock), said that the day in Vinland lasted from eight in the morning to four in the afternoon, and calculated the latitude to be 49° N., which suits Newfoundland or the corresponding Canadian coast.

Later researches as to the significance of the "eykt" passage may conveniently be mentioned at this point. Páll Vídalín, the vice-lawman, writing prior to 1727, followed by Bishop Finnur Jónsson (1772), suggested another mode of resolving the question, which Carl C. Rafn and Finnur Magnusson adopted in 1837, namely: Snorri states in his Edda, "Autumn lasts from the equinox until the sun sets in 'eyktarstadr'"; the Icelandic calendar gives October 17th as the beginning of winter; the sun actually sets at Snorri's home, Reykholt, Iceland, at four o'clock; hence the latitude of Vinland as calculated from these data, was 41° 24′ 10″, and its location was accordingly the southern coast of Rhode Island and Connecticut. Fifty years later, Professor Gustav Storm, in reviewing this matter, corrected the latitude to 42° 21′, about that of Boston, Massachusetts; but he rejected the proposed solution because the philologists Vigfusson and Finsen agree that "eykt" signifies, not the interval of time from 3:30 to 4:30 but a point on the horizon showing the bearing or direction in which the sun set, corresponding to an hour not later than 3:30 — and Vinland is put back in latitude 53° (southern Labrador). Furthermore, Storm holds that "eykt" is not the point two-thirds of the distance from south to west. According to Kristinnrett, "eykt" was at the point two-thirds across the octant having the rhumb "southwest" as its center; as this corresponds to S. 52° 30′ W., the latitude becomes 49° 55′ (Newfoundland), where there are no wild grapes to be found. A. M. Reeves (about 1890) submitted the data anew to Capt R. L. Phythian, superintendent of the U. S. Naval Observatory, who calculated that 49°, the latitude of Newfoundland or the corresponding Canadian coast, was the northern limit beyond which the observation could not have been

made; how far south of that it was, could not be determined from the passage in question. A recent theory is that of M. M. Mjelde,[10] Norwegian press attaché in London, who takes issue with Storm and contends that in the common parlance of Icelanders "eykt" meant a point two-thirds of the distance on the horizon between south and west; or in other words, the southwest airt of the Icelandic law quoted is the *quadrant* south to west, not the octant having "southwest" at its center. This interpretation gives an azimuth of S 60° W, instead of Storm's azimuth of S 52° 30′ W. Gray submitted these new data to the Naval Observatory at Washington and received the reply that the latitude indicated was not north of 39° [11] (Delaware Bay). These figures again would vary with the position of the observer above the horizon, *e. g.*, on a hill, and with other circumstances. Evidently the passage in the Tale of the Greenlanders is not sufficient of itself to determine the location of Vinland.

The travels of Peter Kalm in America (1748-1749) furnished local data of use to a Swedish student named George A. Westman in preparing a dissertation on the travels of ancient Scandinavians to America.[12] In favor of a southern location for Vinland, Westman cites the climate of parts of Pennsylvania visited by Kalm. Leif may have encountered an exceptionally mild winter in Vinland, he thinks; and in support of the passage in the saga telling of the absence of frost, he says that even in Sweden the grass began to grow in March in the year 1750 and again in 1756. Kalm relates that once when he was sailing on the St. Lawrence he was told that an island, which they were approaching, was covered with "self-sown wheat"; but upon nearer approach Kalm saw that the vegetation was a grass called *Elymus arenarius*. This grass,

[10] Review of Mjelde's paper on "A New Theory of the Wineland Voyages" (in *Norsk Historisk Tidsskrift*, 1934, pt. 3, Oslo, 1925) by Gathorne-Hardy in the *Geog. Jour.*, LXVI, 53-57, July, 1925.

[11] The precise figures and conditions of the case are omitted here. Cf. his *Leif Eriksson*, 76-79.

[12] *Itinera priscorum Scandianorum in Americam*, Aboæ, 1757. Kalm himself was the *praeses* when this dissertation was presented before the Royal Academy of Abo, now the University of Helsingfors.

Westman thinks, was the "self-sown wheat" of the sagas. As compared with later guesses that this much-discussed product was either Indian maize or wild rice, this surmise was very shrewd; but apparently no one made it again for more than one hundred and seventy-five years, when it appeared in Gray's book.[13]

Henry Wheaton's *History of the Northmen* (London, 1831), written while the author was United States minister to Denmark, was the first book in English to treat professedly of the Norse discoveries in America. Wheaton finds some traces of contact between the Norsemen and the Micmac Indians of Gaspé Peninsula.

III

All previous works were now to be superseded by an epoch-making book, Carl Christian Rafn's American Antiquities.[14] Having access to the Arna-Magnæan manuscripts at the University of Copenhagen, Rafn included in his work copies of every saga or portion of an Icelandic document that bore upon Greenland, Vinland, or the Norse voyagers of the tenth and eleventh centuries, as well as all supposed references to the Norsemen in America. By correspondence with members of the historical societies of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, Rafn secured topographical descriptions of regions lying in the latitude of Vinland as he established its location by his researches. His reconstruction of the voyages in brief is as follows. The three lands sighted in succession by Biarni were Cape Cod, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. The island of "honey-dew" was Nantucket. Leif's Booths were on Mount Hope Bay, through which the Taunton River flows and, by way of the Pocasset (or Sakonnet River), reaches the ocean. Karlsefni, after reaching Cape Cod (Keelness), coasted along its miles of sandy beach (Wonderstrands), passed Egg island (Stream Isle)—or may be it was Martha's Vineyard

[13] *Leif Eriksson*, 121.

[14] *Antiquitates Americanæ* (Havniæ, 1837). This sumptuous volume was issued under the auspices of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, of which Rafn was founder and secretary. It includes Icelandic texts, accompanied by Danish and Latin translations of the sagas, historical and geographical comments, maps, and facsimiles.

—and entered Buzzard's Bay (Streamfirth), where he wintered. Later he sailed to Mount Hope Bay (Hóp) and built his dwellings on the height above the bay. Thorvald on his southern voyage went as far as Delaware and Maryland; on his northern expedition he crossed Cape Cod Bay, was killed and was buried on Gurnet Point (Crossness) north of Plymouth Harbor.

The wealth of material gathered into the compass of a single volume by Rafn, and presented in such a scholarly form, greatly impressed the public after reviews of the work had appeared in leading American magazines. His views, even his rash identification of the Old Stone Mill, Dighton Rock inscription, and other supposed remains left by the Norsemen, were widely accepted as definitive of the Vinland problem. Many later writers on the subject, such as Asahel Davis (1839), Joshua Toulmin Smith (1839), North Ludlow Beamish (1841), Rasmus B. Anderson (1874, etc.), Father Oswald Moosmüller, the Benedictine (1879), and Father, later Monsignor, P. de Roo (1900), have followed Rafn's plotting of the voyages, although his "Norse remains" have long been abandoned. Charles W. Elliott [15] expressed doubt that Karlsefni reached Leif's Booths; otherwise some mention would have been made of them by Hauk's Book in telling of the stay of the Norsemen at Hóp. Rev. Abner Morse [16] affirmed that an island formerly existed off the east coast of Cape Cod and was subsequently washed away; that this was the island on which Leif landed and tasted the honey-dew. This lost island has since played an important part in the plotting of Leif's voyage. Inscriptions which have turned up from time to time with mysterious readings on them and which have been ascribed to the Norsemen, were made the subject of an inquiry by Sir Daniel Wilson,[17] who rejected the claim of Norse origin for them. Dr. Benjamin Franklin De Costa [18] while accepting some of Rafn's opinions, brought

[15] *The New England History: 986-1776* (New York, 1857, 2 vols.).

[16] *Traces of the Ancient Northmen in America*; paper read before the New England Historic Genealogical Society, August 1861; also Supplement (Boston, 1887).

[17] *Prehistoric Man* (2d ed., London, 1865).

[18] *The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen* (Albany, 1868, and later editions in 1890 and 1901).

to the task of identifying localities close acquaintance with the Cape Cod region, and made new plotting of Leif's and Thorvald's voyages. A chance remark that Leif made *two* voyages, the voyage of discovery of unknown lands and its continuation, the voyage of exploration of Vinland, was not developed by De Costa as it deserves to be, in the opinion of the present writer. The lost island that Morse had mentioned becomes Nauset Island, the former existence of which, De Costa says, was attested by Professor Agassiz. Between this island and Point Gilbert, both now under water, was the bay where Karlsefni anchored and put ashore two Gaelic runners, who returned to the ship on the " third half day," one with a bunch of grapes and the other with " self-sown wheat." De Costa himself says that " grapes grow wild almost everywhere on this coast. They may be found on Cape Cod ripening among the scrub oaks, even within reach of the ocean spray, where the author has often gathered them." (103 n.). The incongruity of this fact with the saga account of Karlsefni failing to find grapes at Streamfirth (Buzzard's Bay) and of Thorhall the Hunter going in search of them to the northward, did not strike De Costa and lead him, as it did Gathorne-Hardy and others, to surmise that the incident of the Gaelic runners is inserted in the saga at the wrong place.

Torfæus, as said above, had recognized the importance of finding a location for Vinland far enough south to account for its wild grapes, and subsequent commentators have generally agreed with him. Robert Grant Haliburton,[19] however, broke away altogether from the idea that a grape-bearing region must be found, and set about tracing a probable course along shore such as the voyagers may be assumed to have followed. Apparently giving credence to a passage in a geographical treatise called " Gripla," he holds that Wonderstrands were in Baffin Land. This passage reads: " Furdustrandir is the name of a land where there is severe frost, so that it is not habitable, so far as people know; south of it is Helluland, which is called Skraelingja-land; thence

[19] " A Search in British America for Lost Colonies of Northmen and Portuguese: I. Vinland the Good." *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.* (London, Jan., 1885).

it is a short distance to Vinland the Good, which some people think goes out from Africa." Nansen thinks that "in Gripla there is evident confusion, as Furdustrandir has been confused with Helluland, and the latter with Markland." [20] The closing sentence from Gripla embodies a Norse misconception that the continent of Africa extended west and northwestward until it joined the new lands found in the west. The same idea seems to underlie the passage in the Saga of Eric the Red which reads: "Karlsefni wished to proceed southward along the land and to the eastward, believing that country to be greater, which is farther to the southward."

The speculations of Professor E. N. Horsford, which must be passed over here, called forth an expression of extreme incredulity regarding the Vinland narratives from a committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society:

> There is the same sort of reason for believing in the existence of Leif Ericsson that there is for believing in the existence of Agamemnon,—they are both traditions accepted by later writers. . . . It is antecedently probable that the Northmen discovered America in the early part of the eleventh century.[21]

Why the date of the discovery should have been accepted by the committee and not the actors, is not explained. Justin Winsor,[22] the learned librarian of Harvard University, whose survey of the literature of the subject is a marvel of exhaustive research, is very dubious about anything connected with the voyages save their probability. "The more these details are scanned in the different sagas," he writes, "the more they confuse the investigator, and the more successive relators try to enlighten us the more our doubts are strengthened, till we end with the conviction that all attempts at unravelment leave nothing but a vague sense of something somewhere done." [23] Although this statement appeared in 1889, Winsor had apparently not seen the critical studies of Storm (1887), which put treatment of the Vinland problem upon a new

[20] *In Northern Mists*, II, 36.
[21] *Proc.* (Dec. 1887).
[22] *Narr. and Crit. Hist. America*, I, 66.

plane. Winsor's view agrees with that of George Bancroft, who in the first edition of his *History of the United States* (1834) had dismissed the sagas as "mythological in form and obscure in meaning, ancient yet not contemporary"; yet he admitted a "natural probability that the Norsemen crossed to America." Washington Irving, in the first edition of his *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1828), rejected the accounts as untrustworthy, but eventually accepted the facts as "established to the conviction of most minds."

ST. MARY'S OF THE SPRINGS
NOT TO BE
TAKEN FROM THE
READING ROOM
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IV

Gustav Storm, professor of geography at the University of Christiania, was the first to apply "higher criticism" to the sources of the Vinland voyages. "Studies on the Vineland (*sic*) Voyages," written for a Danish periodical in 1887, appeared in an English version in the *Memoirs* of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries for 1888. The Saga of Eric the Red, included by the Icelander Hauk Erlendsson in his Hauk's Book and preserved also in a manuscript AM 557, has come down to us, Storm holds, practically unabridged; it has furnished the ground for the "Tale of Eric the Red" in the Flatey Book. With the latter, however, was combined by Jón Thordarsson the "Tale of the Greenlanders," a totally different relation.

In order to bring the two narratives into a semblance of consistency, he omits in the story of Leiv's voyage home the words "and on this voyage he found Vineland the Good"; on the other hand he quite overlooks that from this fusion of different statements, Leiv Eriksson, on his voyage home to Greenland twice over is made to save the shipwrecked crew and twice over to get the name of "the Lucky" . . . then, after Leiv's voyage home, where this discovery of Vineland is omitted, substituting a discovery of Vineland by Bjarne Herjulfsson; and finally taking in chronologically at the right place in the reign of Eric the Earl, the whole of the following series of Vineland voyages . . . Bjarne Herjulfsson indeed is, but for this, quite an unknown personage and the story of his discoveries is in strongest contrast to all that reliable accounts, from the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, unanimously state concerning Leiv's discovery in the year 1000.

[33] Cf. *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1865, 184.

The immense distance off his course covered by Bjarne and the strange silence preserved by him about his discoveries for fifteen years are improbable. "It will, I certainly think," concludes Storm, "be safest henceforth to treat the account in Grth. (Tale of the Greenlanders) with great circumspection. Whatever has its only origin from Grth. must be rejected as doubtful, and whatever is there found at variance with early tradition, as wanting historical foundation."

Storm abandoned the attempt to determine the latitude of Vinland from the "eykt" passage and adopted instead the northernmost limit of the wild grape, (approximately 47° N. lat.). Professor Lawson, of Halifax, ascertained by inquiry that the grape grew wild in Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia, in Pictou County in New Brunswick, and on the Isle des Coudres in the St. Lawrence River. Vinland was, therefore, in Nova Scotia. Why the *northernmost* limit of the vine is taken and not just as well a situation further south, Storm does not explain. Gathorne-Hardy has criticised this identification as follows:

> Except in the Annapolis basin on the west, which does not suit the requirements of the saga, no wild grapes can be found there. The temperature falls to 20° below zero in winter; frost generally continues from Christmas to April. Nova Scotia shows no features on its coast that fit the saga; there are no beaches like Furdustrandir.[24]

The landfalls of the voyagers are plotted by Storm as follows: Helluland was Labrador or possibly the northern peninsula of Newfoundland; Markland was Newfoundland; Vinland was Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, considered until 1544 to be one continuous tract; Keelness was Cape Breton; the Wonderstrands, the beaches on the east shore of Cape Breton Island. The "fjord" into which the Northmen steered, when the country became "fjord-indented" (Straumsfiord), may have been one of the bays in Gaysborough, the county of Nova Scotia lying farthest to the north-east, possibly indeed Canso Bay or some of the bays south of it. Hóp is difficult to locate. Thorvald was killed on the Salmon or Hunting River or on one of the rivers emptying into

[24] *The Norse Discoverers of America* (Oxford, 1921), 233.

Pictou Harbor, in the northern part of Nova Scotia. Self-sown wheat was the aquatic plant called wild rice.

The Skrellings were Indians, not Eskimo, for the reason that the natives are said in the saga to have bartered skins with the Northmen in the spring. Indians hunt fur-bearing animals in the winter while Eskimo hunt walruses and seals in the summer; the time of bartering thus determines that Indians brought their peltries at the end of their hunting season. Storm thinks that they were Micmac Indians, then living in the southwest region of Nova Scotia. The four Skrelling words or names, Avalldamon, Valldidida, Vætilldi, and Uvægi, learned by the Norsemen from the two captured boys, may well have been altered by passing through many strange mouths, and they even differ in different manuscripts. They cannot be Eskimo, Storm claims, because *d* is entirely wanting in Eskimo and *g* is rare. The Beothuk language has the requisite letters but, as no words for father, mother, or king have been preserved, no direct comparison of the languages is possible; the Micmac language has the letters of the names, but Storm found no similar words in the glossaries examined by him. An unique contribution to the question of the supposed mythical country called in Icelandic references "Ireland the Great" or "White Men's Land," is Storm's surmise that the stories of Ari Marsson and Björn Asbrandsson, who drifted to a country so named far in the west and were later found there by Norsemen, are a "perversion of Irish legends of the Christian occupation of Iceland, which a knowledge of the position and characteristics of that island had shifted to a different locality."

The approach of the great tercentenary of the discovery of America called forth many books on the subject. The claims of the Norsemen to share in that honor were presented in impressive form by Arthur Middleton Reeves,[25] who printed in facsimile, with Icelandic text and English translation, the original documents, merely suggesting what seems to be established by the documents, and carefully distinguishing between opinion and facts. The work has since remained a standard fountain of information for the student

[25] *The Finding of Wineland the Good* (London, 1890).

of the subject. The author's notes, dealing with the historical, linguistic, but not the topographical, questions arising from the study of the texts, are models of precise scholarship. His treatment of the "eykt" question has been already mentioned. Discussing the matter of priority of the Flatey Book over Hauk's Book, Reeves points out that in the former a list of Snorri's (Karlsefni's son) descendants mentions Bishop Brand without qualification, while in Hauk's Book, as well as in the Saga of Eric the Red (AM 557), he is called Bishop Brand the Elder. As the second Bishop Brand was ordained in 1263, this fact seems to indicate that the source of the statement in the Flatey Book, and hence presumably the source of the Vinland account given there, was written before 1263 and thus antedates the Hauk's Book, which was begun in 1304. A passage is quoted by Reeves from *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625) in which the savages of Newfoundland are described as "full-eyed," having a black color, their faces being "something flat and broad," characteristics which suggest that the Skrellings of the saga were either Beothuk or Micmac Indians. On the other hand, the Skrellings found by Karlsefni's party on their return voyage to Streamfirth were bearded, and the Micmacs were not bearded.

Dr. John Gilmary Shea,[26] arguing that the Eskimo were found even in the seventeenth century in the latitude of the St. Lawrence, refers to Biard's *Relation de la Nouvelle France* (1612) as proving that they were in Labrador; and to the *Relation* in 1659 that they were still at war with the Micmacs of Gaspé Peninsula at that time. James Mooney, U. S. Ethnologist, writes in the *Catholic Encyclopedia:* "Traditional and historical evidence go to show that the Eskimo formerly extended considerably farther south along Hudson Bay and the St. Lawrence, and perhaps even into New England" (V, 539).

John Fiske[27] wrote of the pre-Columbian voyages to America with his noted charm and popularity of style, but did little more

[26] Introduction to Chas. G. Herbermann's translation of Torfæus's *Ancient Vinland* (New York, 1891).

[27] *The Discovery of America* (Boston, 1892, 2 vols.).

than balance authorities in his interpretation of the sagas. He calls attention to the fact that savages were practically unknown to Europeans before the fifteenth century, that the literary world knew nothing of peoples who would show surprise at the sight of an iron tool, or terror at the voice of a bull, or who would willingly trade off valuable property for worthless trinkets. In these traits of the Skrellings, as well as in descriptive details like the presence of Arctic foxes, not mythical animals, in Helluland, the killing of a bear, catching halibut and salmon in regions where they may be found today, eggs lying together in countless numbers, he sees the earmarks of historical narrative, not of legend or fiction. The Land of Wine must be looked for "somewhere between Point Judith, Rhode Island, and Cape Breton, possibly between Cape Cod and Cape Ann."

A Canadian author, Sir Daniel Wilson,[28] who relies upon the presence of wild grapes in any region to be identified with Vinland, refers to Jacques Cartier, who named an island in the St. Lawrence, the "Isle de Bacchus" because of the many wild vines growing there; and to Lescarbot, who (in 1606) mentions grapes as growing at Saco, Maine, and along the banks of the St. John River in New Brunswick. C. Raymond Beazley[29] speaks of three characteristics of the Vinland of the sagas which stand out as distinctive: mildness of climate, profusion of wild grapes, and the name of the region, Vinland or Wineland, so called from its grapes. "It can hardly be maintained" he writes, "that if these points are thrust aside, we can any longer attach definite value to the narratives." Yet he ventures to assign no precise locations to the lands visited. He raises the question whether both Indians and Eskimo may not have been met by the Norsemen. The "big-eyed" appearance of the Skrellings fits Micmacs; but the "malicious look" does not suit the merry, bland Eskimo.

Juul Dieserud,[30] for many years connected with the Library of

[28] *The Lost Atlantis and other Essays* (New York, 1892).

[29] *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, pt. II (London, 1901).

[30] *Norse Discoveries in America* (reprint from *Bull. Amer. Geog. Soc.*, Feb., 1901).

Congress, accuses the author or compiler of the Flatey Book account of deliberately inventing the voyages of Leif (to explore Vinland), of Thorvald, and of Freydis in order to exalt the part played by Leif's family. The only alternative is, he says, "to regard the saga of Thorfinn as the result of a similar process." Nearly thirty years later, Gray adopted a similar alternative—that Karlsefni was glorified by Hauk's Book at the expense of Leif. Although following Storm in his estimate of the sources and in placing the scene of the Norse visits in Nova Scotia, Dieserud deviates somewhat from him. Karlsefni coasted along the ocean shore of Cape Breton Island, he holds, passed Wonderstrands between Cape North and St. Ann's Bay, and stood into Mira Bay (Streamfirth). Later he sailed along the southern shore of Nova Scotia into the mouth of some river (Hóp) not further south than Halifax. On his search for Thorhall northward, Karlsefni rounded Cape North, passed St. George Bay, "and stopped at one of the small rivers flowing out in the Northumberland Strait, east of Merigomish Harbour." Dieserud, in ridiculing the idea that "Furdustrandir" has anything to do with sand, and ruling out of consideration Cape Cod, seems to overlook part of the passage in Hauk's Book which reads: "There were long strands and *sandy* banks there . . . they called the strands Furdustrandir because they were so long to sail by."

The cartographic aspects of the Vinland problem were treated by Father Joseph Fischer, S. J.,[31] professor of geography at Feldkirch, Austria, with a thorough scholarship that no other writer since Winsor had ever applied to it, and even Winsor confined himself largely to the cartography of Greenland. Father Fischer's discovery of the long-lost world map made by Martin Waldseemüller in 1507, as well as of that cartographer's *Carta marina*, "was remarkable if only for its bearing on the maps of the discoveries made by the Norsemen as well as on their relation to later discoveries of Columbus and his successors." (vii). Fr. Fischer follows Storm for sources and identifications.

[31] *The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America*, with special relation to their early Cartographical Representation; tr. by Basil H. Soulsby (London, 1903). Cf. also his "Pre-Columbian Discovery of America" in *Cath. Encycl.*, I, 415-423.

In favor of the Skrellings being Eskimo, William Thalbitzer[32] adduces several reasons: (1) Ari, writing in 1134, could not have derived knowledge of Eskimo from the Greenlanders, who did not meet them until after 1250; (2) Baron de Lahontan in 1703 had reported that Eskimo were living on some small islands north of Anticosti in the St. Lawrence; (3) in New Brunswick are two place-names, Nipisiguit and Tadoussek, which may have been adopted from the Eskimo by the Papinaki Indians; (4) skin boats are used by no other folk.

When the Skrellings appeared off the entrance to Hóp, "staves were brandished from the boats with a noise like flails and they were revolved in the same direction in which the sun moves," so the saga reads. On a third visit "all of their staves were moved in a direction contrary to the course of the sun." W. G. Gosling[33] suggests that these "staves" were double-bladed paddles such as Eskimo use, which would appear, as viewed from the side, to be moved in one direction or the other according as they came from the right or from the left of the observer. Gathorne-Hardy[34] however, translates the Icelandic word as "rattle-sticks," and cannot see how the movements can be explained as Gosling does, because the canoes approached from the south each time. But it may be pointed out that the saga speaks of the "rowing from the south past the cape." Thus if they came from the east of the cape, the paddles would appear to move as described before they turned northward, and against the sun, if the canoes came from the west of the cape. Gray[35] accepts Gosling's guess and compares the paddles to those used in a Rob Roy canoe. If the passage has significance at all for identifying the natives who handled the paddles, these natives were Eskimo, for the Indians used single-bladed paddles.

M. L. Fernald,[36] professor of botany at Harvard University,

[32] *A Phonetical Study of the Eskimo Language* (Copenhagen, 1904; Meddelelser om Grønland, XXXI).

[33] *Labrador* (London, 1910).

[34] *Norse Discoverers*, 178.

[35] *Leif Eriksson*, 149.

[36] "Notes on the Plants of Wineland the Good," *Rhodora*, XII (1910), 17-38.

has shown that grapes have not been found in Nova Scotia, at least not along the sea-coast, where Storm had located Vinland. This upsets Storm's identification of that region as the Land of Wine or of Vines, if grapes play any part in the matter.

V

Fridtjof Nansen,[37] Arctic explorer, scholar, statesman, in his history of Arctic exploration, declared that the saga narratives and incidental references to Vinland are one and all nothing but the Norse redaction of classical legends of the Isles of the Blest [38] or Fortunate Islands (the Canary Islands off the northwest coast of Africa), found in Greek and Latin poets, Plutarch, and St. Isidore, Bishop of Seville. These legends, as also Irish legends of St. Brendan's voyage and other "Tales of the Sea," tell of favored lands far in the west, where the climate is balmy, and grapes and wheat grow without cultivation. Transmitted to the Norsemen through their countrymen settled in Ireland, these medieval legends, mingled with folk-lore, became traditions of Vinland the Good—a curious expression which conveys, according to Nansen, what the name Fortunate Islands meant to the ancients. "When therefore Norsemen (like a Leif Ericsson) really found new countries in the west, precisely in the quarter where the mythical 'Vinland hit Goda' (or Insulæ Fortunatæ) should be according to Irish legend, this was simply a proof that the country did exist; and the tales and ideas about it were transferred to the newly discovered land" (I, 384). The wealth of allusion by which Nansen supports his contentions is simply bewildering. The question is, however, not whether there are similarities between the two groups of legends or narratives, but whether the dissimilarities exceed the similarities, and whether the comparisons made by Nansen are reasonable and relevant. At the close of a lecture delivered by Nansen before the Royal Geographical Society of London on November 6, 1911, one of his hearers,

[37] *In Northern Mists*, tr. by Arthur G. Chater (London, 1911, 2 vols.).

[38] Cf. a recent article by the present writer entitled "The Isles of the Blest" in *Thought* (New York) for March, 1934.

Gathorne-Hardy, remarked: "It has struck me as a remarkable fact that when you come to authentic explorations of those same regions to which most of us attribute the voyages of Karlsefni and of Leif, you have the same mention of vines and wild corn. . . . It is an extraordinary coincidence, if these sagas have mainly the legendary origin which Dr. Nansen ascribes to them, that they should hit off the actual facts of the country to which they have been mainly attributed." (*Geog. Jour., Dec.* 1911). Ten years later Gathorne-Hardy [39] dealt at length with the theory of Nansen, marshalling his objections as follows: (1) Admixture of the supernatural is to be expected in any historical writing of the period. "The story of the colonization of Greenland—unquestionably historic—is chronicled in precisely these sagas which are here under consideration with regard to Wineland." (2) Sagamen undoubtedly, however, felt at liberty to add color to the bare outlines of their story. (3) The number of persons' names having the component "Thor" does not show legend as Nansen claims it does; the Landnámabók has fourteen pages filled with names compounded with "Thor." (4) Triads or groups of three, such as three day's sailing, three vessels, held to suggest legend, are not more frequent than other groups. (5) The name "Vinland the Good" may, indeed, be the Icelandic form of expressing the idea embodied in the name Fortunate Isles; but that fact does not prove identity of Vinland with the legendary islands. (6) Before the introduction of Christian learning into Iceland and Greenland, knowledge of classical legends of the Fortunate Islands is unlikely; yet wild grapes were undoubtedly discovered in Vinland before that time. (7) The correlation of "self-sown wheat" with wild grapes may indicate some remote connection, yet the Flatey Book does not mention self-sown wheat. (8) Resemblance to the Irish mythical voyages is not such as to show connection.

William Hovgaard,[40] former officer in the Royal Danish Navy and now professor of naval construction at the Massachusetts

[39] *The Norse Discoverers of America* (Oxford, 1921).

[40] *The Voyages of the Norsemen to America* (New York, 1914; Scandinavian Monographs, I).

Institute of Technology, combines with fidelity to the text of the sagas, an accurate account of the Norse ships of the period, and careful study of the coasts with which he associates the visits of the Norsemen; the treatise is illustrated by reproduction of drawings and photographs. Using both of the main narratives, Hovgaard endeavors to reconstruct one consistent story. Leif and Thorvald reached the Cape Cod region; Karlsefni never reached Leif's Booths. Karlsefni's first winter was spent in Sandwich Bay on the shore of Labrador; on his voyage south he reached White Bay on the east shore of Newfoundland, which was Hóp; in search of Thorhall the Hunter he rounded Cape Bauld (Keelness) and followed the west shore of Newfoundland to Bonne Bay. In a recent letter to the writer Professor Hovgaard says:

> In my opinion the story of Bjarni's voyage is of great interest because it is logical and fits the geographical conditions remarkably well. Whether it is historic or not is at present impossible to decide. It seems fairly certain that Leif on his return from Norway sighted the coast of America. It seems not unlikely that he, one or two years later, made a voyage of exploration to the new land. . . . The entire story of this independent voyage of Leif may possibly have been made up on the basis of his return voyage from Norway. I do not consider it possible to give a definite verdict on this matter; the reports are confused.

Fidelity to the text leads Hovgaard to locate the "glaciers" seen by Biarni in Baffin Land, and the "mountains" seen by Karlsefni in Newfoundland.

"The coast lines were guides for the ancient Norsemen and they must also be ours," writes Professor H. P. Steensby,[41] who, deeming mild climate an irrelevant feature of Vinland, and accepting only the Hauk's Book narrative, seeks to trace a probable route for the voyagers from Greenland southward. Hóp is located on the south bank of the St. Lawrence below Quebec, at a little basin formed by the mouth of the Rivière du Sud at the present town of St. Thomas or Montmagny. Vinland was the surrounding region; in a wider sense it was the St. Lawrence Valley, "where foliferous trees and bushes like the vine advance

[41] *The Norsemen's Route from Greenland to Wineland* (Copenhagen, 1918; Meddelelser om Grønland, LVI).

extraordinarily far toward the north." Streamfirth was the estuary of the St. Lawrence between the mouth of the Saguenay, with its Green Isle opposite, and the narrow waters about the present Isle d'Orleans. The Norsemen in their voyages to Vinland followed the shores and the places reached by them were not far apart. The latter is just the ground upon which Gathorne-Hardy criticises Steensby: the saga narrative makes the climatic conditions at Streamfirth and Hóp markedly different, whereas Steensby locates them both on the same river not far apart. The Skrellings approached Hóp from the south; if it was on the *south* bank of the St. Lawrence, the only way to explain the narrative is, as Steensby does, to say that they came from *up* the river, which happens to flow northeast—a very far-fetched explanation. Keelness was Point Vaches on the *northern* side of the Saguenay River mouth. But how then, one may ask Steensby, could Karlsefni have "sailed to the northward around Keelness and then borne to the westward, having land to the larboard," as the saga says he did?

Scandinavian scholars have tended to accept Storm's judgment as to the greater reliability of Hauk's Book as a source and as to a northern location for the scene of the Norse exploits; English and American writers of the past decade have favored the southern location and have upheld the Flatey Book account as of at least equal importance with Hauk's Book. G. M. Gathorne-Hardy whose name has been mentioned above as a critic of Nansen, supports the Flatey Book account upon the following grounds:

(1) The exploits of Leif, the undoubted discoverer of Vinland according to early tradition (the name Karlsefni having been interpolated in Landnámabók), are slurred over in Hauk's Book but are given in detail in Flatey Book; (2) the six voyages of F. B. are more likely to have been condensed by H. B. into three, than the reverse; (3) the astronomical passage, given only in F. B., bears evidence of being the report of an actual observation made by some one on the spot, and was presumably made and reported by Leif himself; (4) the mythical "Uniped" is mentioned only in H. B.; (5) Thorvald's dying speech, given only in H. B., is borrowed from that of Thormod Kolbrunarskald after the battle of Stiklestad; (6) Karlsefni's course is described in H. B. as being uniformly south, whereas the only coast line that he could have followed bore in a

southwesterly direction as given in F. B.; (7) Freydis's voyage, with its frightful incidents, given only in the Greenland source, places a stain upon the family of Leif. "Who would dare to invent it if there were nothing to it?"

The saga narratives make frequent use of the phrase, "he sailed (so many) dægr," which is translated "day's sailing" and furnishes the only clue to the distance between points. The difficulty for us in determining how far a Norse ship sailed in a day is two-fold: Does the term mean a day of twelve or of twenty-four hours? Did a ship on a given voyage sail at night or did it lie up at anchor after dark? Gathorne-Hardy and Hovgaard both estimate a day's sailing of twenty-four hours to have been 150 miles, the calculation being based upon a passage in *Rimbegla*, which states the time and distance of sailing between Bergen and Nidaros (Trondhjem). Says Gathorne-Hardy, "it is but seldom in passages where the expression (dægr) is used that we have any data at all to enable us to say which meaning should be attached to the word."

These features of the saga descriptions may be accepted as decisive, Gathorne-Hardy holds: (1) situation for Vinland south of the 49th parallel of latitude; (2) a region where the wild grape flourishes; (3) stretches of open sea with three independent land-forms; (4) natural characteristics of the "lands" that fit the names given to these lands; (5) Keelness was a cape projecting northward; (6) Streamfirth had strong currents; (7) Hóp was a land-locked tidal estuary. Labrador is generally conceded to be Helluland. "Personally I feel strongly that Nova Scotia is needed for Markland and that Wineland must have been situated altogether to the west or south-west of it." Southern New England best fulfils, he thinks, the requirements of mild climate, grapes, and distinct land formation. Especially is this true of Barnstable peninsula (Cape Cod), upon which Leif landed (at Chatham Harbor), and on the west shore of which Thorvald was killed. Streamfirth was at "the Race," a channel running between Fisher's Island at the entrance to Long Island South and the Gull Islands. Hóp was the estuary of the Hudson—New York Harbor. Skrellings were Indians.

William H. Babcock, in several contributions to the Vinland problem,[42] makes a conscientious effort to meet some of the difficulties of reconciling the words of the sagas with topographical features of the American seaboard. Babcock takes Karlsefni around Newfoundland and Nova Scotia into the Bay of Fundy, whose tides are notorious. On the firth leading into Passamaquoddy Bay (Streamfirth) Karlsefni wintered, Grand Manan Island at its mouth being Stream Isle. On his voyage south he reached Mount Hope Bay, where Rafn had located Hóp nearly one hundred years before. Babcock holds that the region called Vinland may have had vague boundaries reaching anywhere between Cape Breton Island and Chesapeake Bay, as is apparently indicated by Stefansson's map of 1570 (or 1590), the northern tip of the Promontorium Vinlandiæ being the northern horn of Cape Breton Island (Keelness). Karlsefni, on his northern voyage, rounded this cape and entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Lieut.-Col. Langlois [43] surveys prior attempts to plot the Norse voyages and to identify the Skrellings. On an ingeniously constructed map he shows nine different identifications of the three Norse lands. Personally he favors the Gulf of St. Lawrence as the location of Leif's Vinland. Karlsefni did not enter the strait of Belle Isle, but followed down the east coast of Newfoundland to one of its deeply indented bays; on reaching Cabot Strait he turned north. If he had gone further south, he would have encountered the extreme heat from which the neighborhood of New York suffers, no mention of which is to be found in the sagas. This acute observation of Col. Langlois seems to merit reflection. He deems it improbable that the Norsemen, used to the climate of Greenland, could have spent a summer at New York Harbor without bringing home some report of the extreme heat of summer there.

[42] *Early Norse Visits to North America* (Wash., 1913; Smithsonian Misc. Coll., Vol. 59, no. 19). *Recent History and Present Status of the Vinland Problem* (New York, 1921). *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic* (New York, 1922; Amer. Geog. Soc. Research ser. no. 8).

[43] *Le Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands vers l'an 1000* (Paris, 1924).

Halldór Hermannsson,[44] professor at Cornell University and curator of the Fiske Icelandic collection, proposed that the correct way to plot Karlsefni's course south was to follow Leif's course northward, which he proceeds to do thus: Leif, according to Hauk's Book, after sighting Newfoundland and Nova Scotia on his voyage from Norway, landed on the coast of New England. As he found grapes, the spot could not have been north of Passamaquoddy Bay, on the border between Maine and New Brunswick. On his way north he entered Cabot Strait, crossed the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and emerged by the Strait of Belle Isle. Karlsefni entered the Gulf from the north by the Strait of Belle Isle, coasted the southern shore of Labrador (Wonderstrands), and found his Streamfirth in Chaleur Bay, on Gaspé Peninsula, where the tide rises from five to ten feet. On his voyage south, he emerged by Cabot Strait and reached his Hóp at some unidentified point on the New England coast. Matthias Thórdarson,[45] director of the National Museum of Iceland, follows largely the views of Hermannsson and compares them with those of Babcock and Steensby. The fact that grapes are *not* found on Gaspé Peninsula confirms the identication of Chaleur Bay as Streamfirth where Karlsefni did not find grapes and whence for that reason he went in search of Vinland. The verses of Thorhall the Hunter, in which he laments the absence of the "promised wine," are very ancient; they indicate that Streamfirth was not in Vinland, and that hence Leif and Karlsefni did not reach the same spot. "It is not improbable that Hóp was somewhere on the coast between Cape Cod and the northernmost point of the coast of Maine." The Skrellings encountered by Karlsefni at Hóp were probably Indians, not Eskimo.

Edward F. Gray,[46] for twenty years resident in Norway and recently British consul-general at Boston, Massachusetts, has applied to the narratives a criticism no less searching than was

[44] "The Wineland Voyages, a Few Suggestions," in *Geog. Rev.*, XVII, 107-114, Jan., 1927.

[45] *The Vinland Voyages*; tr. by Thorstina Jackson Walters (New York, 1930; Amer. Geog. Soc. Research ser. no. 18).

[46] *Leif Eriksson Discoverer of America: A. D. 1003* (New York, 1930).

Storm's and in its outcome more transforming. Storm chose between them; Gray reconstructs them. Familiar by personal visits with every part of the Cape Cod region in which he locates the exploits of the Norsemen, and "working out the geography from the sea and from the land," as he says in a private letter to the writer, Gray has fitted minute details of topography, ocean currents, climate and natural products to the descriptions given in the sagas, in a way not attempted by his predecessors. His critical treatment of the original narratives is rather reconstructive than destructive. He cuts them up and rearranges them; but he alters passages only to restore them to what he deems their primitive wording.

The narrative of the Flatey Book has, he believes, preserved the true oral Greenland tradition of the voyages; Hauk's Book has transmitted the Icelandic tradition colored by patriotic and family pride. The Hauk's Book account of the voyage of Karlsefni contains, along with the true record of Karlsefni's voyage to Hóp, certain other incidents that belong to Leif's voyage of exploration to Vinland, ascribed, perhaps by Hauk himself, to Karlsefni to enhance the glory of his ancestor. It was Leif, not Karlsefni, who, according to this theory, lay by in the bay beyond Wonderstrands, put the two Gaelic scouts ashore there (on Cape Cod Peninsula), encountered the strong currents and shoals of Streamfirth (Nantucket Sound), and turning into a tidal river on Martha's Vineyard, built his booths on the shore of Menemsha Pond. Later his party, not Karlsefni's, "went out to the island," which was No Man's Land, where the stone house was built. It was at this house that Karlsefni "arrived safe and sound," after having avoided, doubtless by Leif's advice, the dangers of the inner passage by sailing around the ocean side of Nantucket Island. The climate of the little sea-girt island of No Man's Land conforms perfectly to that of Vinland, it is said. Mösur trees meant gnarled or knotted trees, such as are still to be seen on Martha's Vineyard, the wood of which was used for ships' masts, building timbers, or the knobs of which were carved into bowls or drinking-vessels.

The six voyages of the Greenland account were compressed

into three in the Icelandic. Thorhall the Hunter accompanied Thorvald on his independent voyage; and on the latter's voyage northward in search of Thorhall, Thorvald rounded Cape Cod, where he damaged his keel and set it up on the point. Thence he coasted the west shore of the cape to the mouth of the Chase Garden Greek, was killed there, and was buried on a headland now called Hockanom (Crossness). The topographical details of these voyages were worked out by Gray on the spot in every case, and are marvels of close investigation. The identification of Streamfirth with Leif's Booths in Vinland is beset with certain incongruities, it must be said. Thus: (1) If Streamfirth *was* Leif's Booths, why is Karlsefni said to have "cruised southward off the coast" in search of Vinland? (2) If Thorhall the Hunter was with Thorvald in the Land of Grapes, why did he, in verses that all commentators deem very ancient, complain that "wine and I are strangers yet" and sail in search of Vinland in the opposite direction of Karlsefni? (3) Why did Karlsefni sail "northward off the coast" on his return from Hóp to Streamfirth if Hóp lay, as Grey says it did, on the southern coast of Massachusetts, at the mouth of the Westport River—in other words, in almost the opposite direction? The sagaman's explanation, however, of the movements of the voyagers cannot, Gray holds, be always relied upon.[47] In support of the identification of Skrellings with Eskimo he quotes Dr. Stefansson, the Arctic explorer, who found a marked similarity between the "animal marrow mixed with blood," found beside the sleeping natives, and a kind of food taken on journeys by Eskimo.

The foregoing survey would seem to make manifest that no modern setting of the Norse voyages to America may yet be said to be the final solution of the Vinland problem.

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL.

[47] In a letter to the writer (December 4, 1934) in reply to these criticisms, Mr. Gray says that he regards the Icelandic account (Hauk's Book) as untrustworthy on details; that Thorhall simply wished to go back to Greenland; and that "Westport was not the furthest south of the cruise by any means, but rather that it may have been a place of call on the way home again to No Man's Land."

SOME OPPORTUNITIES OF THE CATHOLIC HISTORIAN IN THE REFORM AND PROGRESS OF THE LAW*

If I dared to risk illustrating my thesis by the much-used phrase of our times, "poverty amid plenty," I would take you for a brief survey of the educational institutions of our country and point out their phenomenal growth, their present magnificent equipment, the substantial support of public opinion, and the great foundations. And in this seeming wealth of equipment, man-power, and research, I would point out to you the "poverty amid plenty"—Legal History standing in tattered clothes, quite hungry, unnoticed amid this otherwise impressive grandeur.

Lest my opinion seem venturesome, let me quote from the noted scholar, Theodore Plucknett, who says in his history of the common law:

> American Legal History still awaits its pioneers . . . it may be that in the future a small beginning may be made in making American Legal History available for the use of students; for the present, however, we must be content with presenting the historical basis of the legal system of this country in its broader aspects, in the hope that they will obtain in this study a sense of the position of the law in human life and history, of the forces which made for its development, of the difficulties which it had to overcome, and an idea of how an historian would place these things in the general scheme of progress.[1]

Does this come by accident, or is it the natural product of the thinking or unthinking of our people and of our age? Surely it is disturbing in a scene where one views the advance in research, the extensive and well-financed archeological expeditions, the zealous seeking for rare volumes, and the multiplication of libraries. These represent praiseworthy efforts by men determined to learn from the past—endeavoring to gain a true perspective of the prob-

* Paper read at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 28, 1934, Washington, D. C.

[1] T. F. T. Plucknett, *A Concise History of the Common Law* (Rochester, N. Y., 1929), preface, iv.

lems of the present and of the future in the light of history. These strivings represent the efforts of the thinker.

In striking contrast, one views contemporary legal and political history, where one sees a dearth of scholarly effort, confused thinking, endless law-making, a tremendous " noble experiment " which dies ignobly—and was possibly born so—and the rapid rise of political pied pipers, alluring the people with demagogic and fantastic schemes. These endeavors represent at least a temporary victory for the emotionalist over the thinker. Now, does this happen by chance? Or is it because we are only a generation or two removed from the frontier, in contrast with other peoples who have deep-rooted traditions of the centuries? Have we an unique zeal for change, which we smilingly call progress? Or have we sadly neglected to give our people a knowledge of the past as a basis for wise judgment about the present and the future? May it not be in part the result of a hurrying restlessness in search of the new, and the rejection of basic philosophic study, which discards the eternal truths and principles and accepts the superficial appraisal that values only exist in the useful? However, lest my treatment of today's topic become too theoretical and too general, let me at once point out a few concrete situations in the law today which need your aid as historians in order to accomplish necessary reforms and to ensure enduring progress in the law.

No branch of the law touches individual lives so vitally or possesses in general such dramatic interest as the criminal law. In our day, public attention is focused upon the so-called " crime situation." Recently we have witnessed in Washington an impressive conference called by the Attorney-General of the United States and attended by his assistants, state prosecutors, police agencies, sociologists, and students of government.[2] The President himself saw fit to address the meeting and the nation as well, over the radio, and to call attention to the fact that criminals are now better organized than law-enforcing agencies, particularly because of " the lack of coördination between local agencies within states."

[2] The Attorney-General's Conference on Crime, Washington, D. C., December 10-13, 1934.

He pointed out that criminals have " presented national problems, against which primitive forms of law enforcement are relatively powerless." [3] And he definitely recommended the creation of an improved criminal law administrative structure, which would coördinate all town, city, county, state, and federal crime preventing and law-enforcing agencies, and the building up of a body of public opinion sensitive to the acute situation in which we find ourselves.

Illustrative of the present clumsy administrative structure is the fact that within a radius of fifteen miles of Boston there are thirty-nine uncoördinated and independent law enforcing agencies. Similarly, there is the fact that the chance of detection and conviction for committing robbery in Chicago is only one in two hundred.[4] This senseless multiplication of law-enforcing agencies with its attendant over-lapping authority, jealous competition for jurisdiction, and wasteful political machinery, is utterly incapable of being understood without historical study and explanation. For only in the light of an historical examination does it appear as the evil survival of an old English county system under which a criminal, who shot across a county line and killed a man, might escape conviction for the first county lacked jurisdiction over a completed criminal act. Only in the light of contemporary political history can the present county machine entrenchment be understood, and education of the public, as a necessary basis for reform presents a notable opportunity for your practical and useful service.

The solution of the problem resolves itself, at least in part, into the coördination of agencies, and the much-needed reform of the substantive and procedural criminal law. The latter has been under consideration by the American Law Institute, a group of national scholars drawn from the ranks of judges, teachers, and legal practitioners, who have produced a model draft on " Adminis-

[3] *Washington Post*, December 11, 1934; *New York Times*, December 12, 1934.

[4] H. L. Stimson, speaking at Attorney-General's Crime Conference, December 10, 1934. Reported in *Washington Post*, December 11, 1934.

tration of the Criminal Law." Of this movement Chief Justice Hughes said:

> I note with keen interest the attention that this Institute is giving to the improvement of criminal justice. Here we are dealing with the foundations of the security of society. Of what avail are schemes of promoting social welfare if the organization of society fails in its primary duty of protecting life and property from criminal assault, if the criminal law is flouted by corrupt political alliances, if, despite official honesty and vigilance, delays and procedural complexities embarrass prosecutions? [5]

Now, as you know, a defendant who is arrested or indicted for any of the more serious crimes has the right to have a jury trial. One would naturally think that a trial should be a non-technical quest for truth. And what device would appear more natural than the interrogation under proper safeguards of the person suspected or charged with the crime? Apart from history, one would naturally think that a defendant would be compelled to appear in court and be compelled to answer proper questions concerning his alleged connection with the crime.

But the United States Constitution has provided that "no person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." [6] This early historical safeguard, or a similar one for the protection of the individual, has been enacted into most state constitutions. The effect today is that the suspected criminal seeks refuge behind this barrier and refuses to take the witness stand during the course of his criminal trial. Courts have decided that this protection even gives the defendant immunity from reference by the judge or prosecuting attorney to the defendant's failure to take the witness stand.

The American Law Institute recommends that the law be changed so that "the judge, the prosecuting attorney, and counsel for the defense may comment on the fact that the defendant did not testify." [7] The Crime Conference, to which I have referred,

[5] C. E. Hughes, Address at American Law Institute Meeting, Vol. 20, No. 6, *American Bar Association Journal*, June 1934, 341.

[6] U. S. Constitution, 1789, Amendment V.

[7] Section 6, American Law Institute, *Administration of the Criminal Law*, tentative draft No. 1, 34.

specifically recommends to all legislatures that are meeting in 1935 the adoption of "a rule permitting court and counsel to comment on the failure of the defendant in a criminal case to testify in his own behalf." [8] The American Bar Association and Associated Law Schools have also recommended this change.[9] I am not concerned here whether or not this reform becomes effective. The point which I wish to make is that it furnishes an example of one of several situations in which the public needs the help of historians, for it is the group most capable of making the situation clear to the public and to legislative bodies—how the law came to be such, and whether the historical background of the law or institution justifies its continuance in the light of contemporary history.

Looking back, we see that this immunity from self-incrimination was the product of an American historical period in which people had fled from a legal tyranny. They brought with them an English criminal law developed by judicial experience to meet violent crimes in an age of force. In all there were two hundred such crimes. Our early settlers had suffered from the extreme theories of royal prerogative which were prevalent during the period of the Tudor and Stuart kings. These theories had developed the common law as to misdemeanors by means of a Star Chamber known as "a whipping, nose-slitting, ear-cropping court." Early American Law felt the influence of Puritanism—its exaggerated individualism, its stress on the fundamental proposition, "a willing covenant of conscious faith," and the prevailing theory in criminal law of "punishing the vicious will and the necessary connection between wrongdoing and retribution." [10] The later frontier development of this country rather increased than decreased the tendency to limit judicial power and to strengthen this protection of the individual defendant.

Since this is true, does the historical basis in the light of contemporary history justify the continuance of this immunity which

[8] *New York Times*, December 14, 1934.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] R. Pound, *The Spirit of the Common Law*, 42 ff.

is a very effective hindrance to the prosecution of the criminal today? As an eminent leader in legal thought has said, the fact that such a device has sometimes "gained adherents and patriots in the immediate past makes it timely to examine the body of legal tradition, not only to ascertain the elements of which it is made up, but to learn its spirit, and to see how it has come to be what it is, to the end that we may know how far we may make use of it in this stage of legal development." [11] Of its present workings he says, "in practice, the rich malefactor takes the advice of counsel, closes his mouth, and leaves the prosecution to prove what it may." On the other hand, "the police labor with the friendless malefactor until a confession is extorted." [12]

Whatever may be your opinion of this particular proposal, let me add one phase of the problem that recommends itself to me without qualification. Both of the privileges of personal immunity and the attorney-client privilege should not be available in cases in which the bribing of public officials is charged, for the abuse of this privilege has led to some indefensible chapters in our history "in which grafters and bribers have retained politically influential lawyers, not for the exercise of their legal knowledge or skill, but as political brokers to secure public contracts and government favors." [13]

Another problem of today is the desirability of further control of the sensational press in reporting criminal prosecutions. It has been said:

> We have become sentimental over crime to a hysterical degree, which has been responsible for the breakdown of our system of justice. . . . I have heard it amusingly stated that the only kind of homicide which is really repugnant to the American nature is a legal execution.[14]

However, we are immediately confronted with the guarantee, well imbedded in our history, of the freedom of the press. Yet, no one

[11] R. Pound, *op. cit.*, 10.

[12] *Ibid.*, 104.

[13] Samuel Seabury, Address before the American Law Institute, Washington, D. C. *New York Times*, May 8, 1932.

[14] Henry L. Stimson, at Attorney-General's Crime Conference, Washington, D. C. *Washington Post*, December 11, 1934.

can seriously question the very harmful results that have come to the public through the exploitation of crime and criminals by the press. In any proposal to remedy this situation by law, it will be necessary to build up a strong public opinion that will demand needed reforms in the law. And we are dependent upon historians to light up for us the earlier conditions which brought forth the guarantee, "freedom of the press," the present dangers of limiting that freedom, and the experiences of the other nations which have or have not had such an established guarantee.[15] In this connection it is the historian who can point out to us the situation in similar or different situations, including dictatorship of the press, and the present facilities for the building up of propaganda through the press by small but influential minorities.

Often in determining the application of the Constitution's powers and prohibitions to present day problems of the law, we stand in need of the historian's aid. Whether the Constitution still remains, as some of us think it does, a great permanent charter of government and a strong bulwark of individual liberties, or whether it is, as recent responses from some colleges indicated, an outmoded, "haloed fetish"[16] need not be discussed here. The important fact is that it remains the fundamental law of the land and the interpretation of its provisions continues to be one of the main functions of the United States Supreme Court. All of us are familiar with the phrases, "religious liberty," "due process of law," "freedom of the press," and "interstate commerce." Yet the determination of these words frequently divides our highest court hopelessly into the much-discussed five and four decisions.[17]

In a very recent case two young students of the University of California appealed to the United States Supreme Court from a

[15] Carlton J. H. Hayes, "From One Age to Another," in the *Commonweal*, November 2, 1934, 11-12.

[16] American Bar Association, Report of Standing Comm. on American Citizenship, Advance Reports (1934), Fifty-seventh annual meeting, 95, 97 ff. See also the *New York Times*, *December* 10, 1934.

[17] Home Building and Loan Assoc. *vs.* Blaisdell, 290 U. S. 398 (1933); Nebbia *vs.* N. Y., 291 U. S. 502 (1933); Petersen Baking Co. *vs.* Bryan, 290 U. S. 570 (1933).

decision of the Supreme Court of California, which had upheld the University requirement making compulsory a course in military science and tactics.[18] The University is a land grant college, and under the terms of this aid, had prescribed the taking of this course. The students declined to take the course on the ground of religious and conscientious objections and were suspended by the Regents of the University. The appeal was based upon the claim that such a requirement interfered with their constitutional guarantee of "liberty." [19] The Court denied their appeal. The interesting part of the decision for us is the method by which the Supreme Court of the United States determined the meaning of "liberty," and "the free exercise" of religion.[20] In his concurring opinion, Mr. Justice Cardozo stated, "I cannot find . . . an obstruction by the state to 'the free exercise' of *religion as the phrase was understood by the founders of the nation and by the generations that have followed.*" [21] Again, he stated, "Instruction in military science . . . is not an interference by the state with the free exercise of religion *when the liberties of the Constitution are read in the light of a century and a half of history during days of peace and war.*" [22]

As to the interpretation of clauses in the Constitution, you perhaps are familiar with the oft-quoted phrase of Chief Justice Marshall: "We must never forget that it is a Constitution that we are expounding"; [23] and the words of the present Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court: "We are under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the judges say it is." [24] An Associate Justice has said in this connection: "No law, written or unwritten, can be understood without a full knowledge

[18] Hamilton et al *vs.* The Regents of the U. of California, U. S. Supreme Court, Advance Sheets, No. 55, October term, 1934, December 3, 1934.

[19] See Note 18, Concurring Opinion, 10.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] See Note 18, Concurring Opinion, 1. (Italics mine.)

[22] *Ibid.*, 2. (Italics mine.)

[23] McCulloch *vs.* Maryland, 4 Wheat, 316, 407.

[24] Hughes: *Addresses* (1908), Speech before Elmira Chamber of Commerce, 139.

of the facts out of which it arises and to which it is to be applied." [25] The law never stands still in a changing world. The phenomena of its growth are apparent to all. Judges, legislators, and members of administrative law bodies need the aid of history not only to interpret present law but to weigh the merits of all proposed changes and additions to our present law. As has been well said: "History, in illuminating the past, illuminates the present, and in illuminating the present, illuminates the future." [26] Its aid is vital, for "the effect of history is to make the path of logic clear." [27]

It may be true, as it probably is, that the great emphasis today is placed upon the social considerations of proposed legislation. However, it certainly remains true that judges and legislators need the aid of the philosopher and of the historian in hewing the new paths of the law. As the great Maitland has said: "The historical spirit is not hostile to reform and history is studied in order that progress may be made, in order that the past may not paralyze the present." [28]

The objection may be made at this point: the American Catholic historian is not offered the opportunity of aiding the law by his writings, by personal conferences with legislators or by furnishing references to and interpretations of history to legislative bodies. That may be all too true. Even so, you may nevertheless make your influence felt in the teaching of history. As we view actual conditions in which we live and see the vital struggle concerning property ownership, the sharp conflict as to the scope of government functions, and the growing power of unschooled and unthinking legislative bodies—can it be denied that the teacher of history, and particularly the teacher of constitutional history, can do much to awaken in his scholars a sustained life interest in history and government? With a deepened appreciation of the

[25] L. C. Brandeis, *The Living Law* (1916), 10 Ill. L. R. 461-467.

[26] B. N. Cardozo, *The Nature of the Judicial Process* (New Haven, 1925), 53.

[27] O. W. Holmes, "The Path of the Law," 10 *Harvard Law Review* (1910), 465.

[28] Quoted by H. D. Hazeltein, Introduction to R. Pound, *Interpretations of Legal History*, xiv.

struggles and the sacrifices which produced our present form of government, your student, viewed either as a prospective public official or as a mere voter, will withstand and be quick to resent the delusive promises of the demagogue. As I write this, I am amused by the memory of the promise of the English rebel, Jack Cade, who vowed that "there shall be . . . seven half penny loaves sold for a penny, the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops, and I will make it felony to drink small beer. And when I am King, as King I will be, there shall be no money." Possibly in future years the historian will write of the same type of promises made within earshot of us in the year 1934. In this present clamor for violent change, we need the historian to enlighten people that all change is not progress, and to give them an objective historical appraisal of our institutions as the only proper perspective in which to consider proposed radical changes.

As to your teaching, must it be admitted, as one college president in the Middle West says, that "teaching of the Constitution is about the driest dust that they are compelled to deal with"?[29] Or is it strictly true, as another educator says: "It is difficult to give young people a proper understanding of the obligations and duties of a citizen . . . in the face of criticism of the government . . . and above all, public men and radicals of Congress and our state legislative bodies"?[30] Or again, is it true, as a scholar in a Western University says, that "the study of civics has ceased to be a study of our Constitution and its history and authority; instead, the course now treats of policemen, firemen, garbage cans, flies, etc."?[31] If the truth of these statements should be generally admitted, then the teaching of American history is a failure. But such statements are not only unwarranted as an unfair appraisal of present-day teaching, they plainly fail to see the depth and charm of the subject and to grasp its sound practical worth in the present troubled situation. I believe that teachers of history can rise to this opportunity and perform a note-worthy public service. Do not underestimate your influence! The com-

[29] American Bar Association, Advance Reports, Standing Comm. on American Citizenship, 84, 97. [30] *Ibid.* [31] *Ibid.*

prehension of, appreciation of, and interest in American government and institutions which you impart to your students will last beyond your years of teaching. Your personality, teaching, and writings may well shape the sphere of influence of your students' after life and be more closely bound than you dream to the future stability and progress of our institutions and our law.

All that is true, you may admit. But where in particular lies the opportunity for the Catholic historian? My answer is that law and religion have had a closely related influence on the history of the social order of the past. As to the present and future, a scholarly interpretation of that relationship, sometimes united, sometimes competing, and at times even hostile may furnish valuable guidance as to the future influence of each, functioning individually or in coöperation with each other.

The Catholic historian has a noteworthy opportunity of contributing some much-needed historical writing concerning the legal, philosophical, and historical foundations of our Constitution. That writing could do much to instruct our age, immersed as it is in sociological jurisprudence, with the historical contribution, intrinsic worth and eternal power of the natural law. We need to know more of the far-reaching influence of the teaching of the natural law by great churchmen of the middle ages, for such teaching has exerted a profound influence on our common law and in particular upon the decisions of our early judges interpreting the Constitution.[32]

Your work as Catholic historians may bring as well very practical results in the future relation of law to religion. Taxation is a serious problem everywhere, as you know; tax levies are made upon the authority of laws, national, state, and municipal. Practically all states have granted to the Church some tax exemptions, complete or limited. Without such exemption, the maintenance of

[32] Pound, *Law and Morals* (Durham, N. C. 1926) 8 ff.; W. W. Willoughby, *Constitution of the United States* (2d ed., New York, 1929), Vol. I, section 40, 41; J. W. Andrews, *Works of James Wilson* (Chicago, 1896) Vol. II, 308 ff. See also H. I. Cicognani, *Canon Law* (Philadelphia, 1924) 22 ff., 62, 100; Pope Leo XIII, *The Great Encyclical Letters* (New York, 1903). Encyclicals "The Christian Constitution of States," 107 ff., and particularly "Human Liberty", 135-140.

our churches, schools, hospitals, and orphanages would be very seriously handicapped. Perhaps I am mistaken, but I feel that a movement can be discerned which may eventually threaten, in part or completely, the continuance of such exemptions. One cannot close one's eyes to the fact that in New York, within a few weeks, there has been a drastic move to cut down a substantial amount of tax-exempt property.[33] Nor can one disregard the fact that several widely known Protestant ministers have publicly advocated the abolition of such exemptions, and they have been supported in that position by some University professors of national standing.[34] Our tax resources are approaching the point of exhaustion. And in such a situation, in a day of growing irreligion,[35] we may be certain that greedy eyes are fastened upon the possible income to be derived from such a source as Church property. If this threat finally reaches legislative bodies, the group who can be most helpful in the situation will be the American Catholic historians, who can bring before such bodies a complete history of the work of the charitable and educational work of the Church and the ultimate benefit to the community and to society in general through such exemptions.

We also need the help of the historian in presenting to the courts the historical setting of certain laws and judicial opinions received particularly from England. As an example, let me cite the matter of ante-nuptial promises. You are all familiar with the promise of a non-Catholic in a mixed marriage to bring up all the children in the Catholic faith. It is often asked: "Are these promises enforceable in American courts"? It must be admitted that the English authorities and some of the dicta of the American courts appear to answer the question in the negative. However, upon a closer examination of these precedents, we find, first, that the courts, because of an historical development, have hesitated to deal with such cases as beyond their scope. They felt mistakenly

[33] See *New York Times*, November 16, 1934; November 17, 1934; December 17, 1934; December 18, 1934. Also see *Recent Social Trends* (New York, 1933), II, Ch. XXVI, *Taxation and Public Finance*, 1331 ff.

[34] *Literary Digest*, December 30, 1933; August 4, 1934; August 25, 1934.

[35] *Recent Social Trends*, II, 1009 ff.

that they were limited to cases involving property rights in contrast to rights of personality. With the development of the law today forward thinkers believe that rights of personality are as valuable and as vital to a person "as his limbs or his property." Under this sound view, courts would be more inclined to adjudicate cases involving ante-nuptial promises.[36] But then another difficulty is encountered in the apparent barrier of legal precedent. This can never be understood without a critical examination of the historical setting in which such cases were decided in England and the United States. Such an historical examination discloses the fact that the cases cited as precedents in England were decided in a time of extreme anti-Catholic legal disabilities and hostile popular feeling. Not much reliance can be placed upon the judicial attitude of a judge who in his opinion refers to the Catholic's religious duty as "the adoration of the Virgin," and the "practice of confession."[37] Nor can much trust be placed in decisions of a judge who inserts in his opinion that the relatives "were not only Catholics, but Irish Catholics," and further says that "to the Protestant, the Catholic religion must be a system of superstition."[38] Only a study of history can demonstrate that such English cases became precedents in outlying frontier courts in the United States where judges certainly did not have the opportunity to examine the court decisions upon which they purported to rest their decisions. How valuable it would be if the lawyers in such cases could find and be able to present to the courts critical, scholarly studies upon the historical settings which have given rise to such laws and decisions which in turn have been engrafted upon our American law.

A final example interests me very much. There are several privileged relations which cannot be made the subject of inquiry in a judicial tribunal, such as communications between husband and wife, or lawyer and client. This has been enlarged by statute to include physician and patient. Something more than half of our states have extended this privilege to the confessional secret,

[36] R. J. White, *The Legal Effects of Ante-Nuptial Promises* (Philadelphia, 1932), 27. [37] *Ibid.*, 11. [38] *Ibid.*, 22.

but many states may still invoke the old common law rule.[39] It may startle you to know that the confessional secret is not privileged in the English common law.[40] A priest may be under legal compulsion to divulge it. I speak only of the civil law, because by divine law and by natural law, he would be forbidden to reveal such a secret and would be compelled to sacrifice his life rather than to break the seal.[41] Apart from a lawyer's examination of the cases, how valuable and how interesting it would be to have a scholarly treatise on the history surrounding the origin and development of the other privileges and laws, while popular opinion refused to extend the privilege to priest and penitent.[42]

At this point you may be inclined to object that, after all such a task is for legal historians. But the fact is that today in the United States only twenty law schools give courses in legal history, and until very recently only ten law schools.[43] These facts prove, if any proof is needed, the assertion made by Professor Charles H. McIlwain of Harvard University that: "No elaborate survey is necessary to show that legal history is a subject now attended to in the law schools of this country comparatively little, and elsewhere scarcely at all."[44] Is it any wonder then that one can scarcely count four or five legal historians of acknowledged standing in this country? It is evident then that the law must turn for aid to the general historian.

Thoughtful students have long since discarded any silly notions that either judges or legislators, or the public, singly or in combination, can understand and administer the law in its present form,

[39] J. H. Wigmore: *A Treatise on the Anglo-American System of Evidence* (Boston, 1923), sec. 2395.

[40] Wigmore, *op. cit.*, 394 ff.

[41] *Code of Canon Law*, Canons 889 ff., 2369 ff.; Tanquerey, *Synopsis Theologiae Moralis* (Tournai, 1925), I, 502 ff.; F. M. Capello, *De Sacramentis* (Turin, 1926), sec. 907; P. C. Augustine, *A Commentary on Canon Law* (St. Louis, 1922), V, 300 ff., VIII, 441 ff.; see also, *Cath. Ency.*, XIII, 649-665.

[42] See Wigmore, *op. cit.*, sec. 2369 at page 233.

[43] O. K. McMurry, "The Teaching of Legal History in the American Law School," *American Law School Review*, No. 12, May, 1934, 1122-1123.

[44] "Legal History in American Colleges," *American Law School Review*, No. 12, May, 1934, p. 1119.

much less accomplish necessary reforms and chart out paths of real progress for the future. The law has already summoned to its aid the economist, physicist, the sociologist, the psychiatrist and the physiologist. While admitting that these specialists give much practical assistance, I believe that the law today needs more than ever the aid of the historian. In that need lies your opportunity.

All of us realize that we are in an era of change, when fundamental institutions are being challenged and when the very air is charged with appeals for drastic reforms and attempts for recovery through rapidly changing trial and error measures. These movements of popular feeling constantly seek to find lasting reality through legal sanctions either as judicial precedents in the form of court decisions or as part of the ever growing annual output of legislative statutory law. As a noted scholar has said of our time, "All thinking about law has struggled to reconcile the conflicting demands of the need of stability and of the need of change." [45] Thus it is the function of law to attempt to unify or to reconcile this stability and change, making the legal order appear as a fixed and settled body of law "affording no scope for individual wilfulness," [46] and yet adaptable to new adjustments made necessary by the pressure of changing modes of living and social demands of a different era.

It is curious how historical and legal thinking have run parallel in some respects in the last few years. Among legal scholars it is now agreed that a judge is not simply a judicial automaton who, given certain facts and certain precedents, automatically breathes forth a decision. As one brilliant author has said: "The judge must balance all his ingredients—his logic, his philosophy, his analogies, his history, his customs, his sense of right . . . and determine as wisely as he can which weight will tip the scales." [47] The same is true of the historian as well. In the Presidential Address of the American Historical Association in 1931, it is interesting to read a similar observation. The speaker said: "To

[45] R. Pound, *Interpretations of Legal History* (New York, 1923), 1.
[46] *Ibid.*, 12.
[47] Cardozo, *The Nature of the Judicial Process*, 162, 167.

establish the facts . . . is indeed the first duty of the historian, but to suppose that the facts . . . will speak for themselves is an illusion. . . . However 'hard and cold' they may be, historical facts are after all not material substances . . . comparable to dumping a barrel of bricks." [48]

The Catholic historian can bring to the necessary interpretation of historical facts judgment in the light of faith, method grounded in logic and philosophy, and calm judicial appraisal as his heritage from the Catholic Church which has lived and been the greatest influence in history for twenty centuries. As the late Bishop Shahan said in the very first lines of your *Catholic Historical Review*: "An interest in historical studies and the fashion of viewing actions and events in their historical relations are the natural inheritance of Catholics." [49] The law stands in need of your help. The opportunity is yours. May your work in this regard become a living, lasting contribution to Catholic Action and an enduring patriotic service to the nation in the solution of the problems that beset us all in the reform and progress of the law.

ROBERT J. WHITE.

[48] Carl Becker, "Everyman his own Historian", in the *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (January, 1932), 234.

[49] I (April, 1915), 5.

MISCELLANY

THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 26-29, 1934

Meeting concurrently with the American Historical Association and nine other societies at the Hotel Mayflower, Christmas week, 1934, the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION completed its fifteenth year of service to the progress of historical study and research in the field of general Church history. The meeting was well attended; even the spacious Chinese Room, where the sessions were held, was at times overcrowded. The sessions were opened by a reception given to His Excellency, the Most Reverend Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States. Mr. J. Harvey Cain, of the Catholic University of America, assisted by Mrs. Cain, presided as chairman.

The Committee on Reception was composed of the following members of the University faculty and their wives: Dr. and Mrs. James J. Bowe, Dr. and Mrs. John McDill Fox, Dr. and Mrs. Arthur Deering, Dr. and Mrs. William Barry Grogan, Dr. and Mrs. Aubrey E. Landry, Dr. and Mrs. Otto J. Ramler, Dr. and Mrs. Leo Francis Stock, and Dr. and Mrs. Herbert Wright.

At the close of the reception His Excellency addressed the large assembly:

During this sacred season eleven groups of those who interest themselves in the subject of history and allied sciences meet here together. Of these the oldest is the American Historical Association. Since 1884 that organization has begotten in turn hundreds of local historical societies. This year it celebrates the golden jubilee of its long service in the cause of historical truth. Another one of the groups meeting here today is the American Catholic Historical Association founded fifteen years ago in 1919.

As representative of His Holiness Pius XI, I wish to thank the officers and members of the Catholic Historical Association for the invitation which they extended to me to be present here this evening.

American scholars of all creeds have bestowed high tributes of praise upon our Holy Father, Pius XI, who was himself at one time librarian of the Ambrosiana in Milan and of the Vaticana in Vatican City. One of the special reasons for such praise was the stimulus which He has given to historical research by the arrangement His Holiness made some few years ago with the Carnegie Endowment. Through that arrangement and the generous assistance of the Endowment, the Vatican Library is being catalogued and indexed—a great boon indeed to all students of history throughout the world. The Holy Father is Himself a keen student, and well known among scholars for

his treatise entitled *Essays in History*. It may be of interest to you to know that Dr. Guilday, the learned and diligent secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association, studied in the Vatican Archives under the direction of Pius XI.

Another outstanding fact in the progress of the historical sciences—one which put the whole world in further debt to the Holy See—was the opening of the Vatican Archives by Pope Leo XIII to the historians of all lands and all creeds. His memorable letter, *Saepenumero Considerantes*, written to Cardinals de Luca, Pitra and Hergenroether on August 18, 1883—over fifty years ago—gives us a striking picture of the historiography of that time from the Catholic point of view. The picture shows that much of historical writing at that time had been perverted into a deadly poison; it was not so much history as propaganda. It had turned itself from true history to a new species of warfare against the Christian faith. It had made itself subservient to party interests and the passions of men. It sought to instill into the minds of the young distrust for the past, and a supreme contempt for whatever was holy and sacred. It had wandered immeasurably far from its ancient path described by Cicero: that of the *magistra vitae et lux veritatis*. It had in many ways become the agency of vice and the slave of corruption. "No effort should be spared," declared Pope Leo, "to refute inventions and falsehoods: and writers must always bear in mind this rule—the first law of history is, not to dare to utter falsehood; the second, not to fear to speak the truth. Moreover, no room must be left for suspicion of partiality or prejudice."

Even while those words were being read for the first time in the intellectual capitals of the world, a small group of American teachers, students and writers of history met in September, 1884, and laid the foundations of that society which now for fifty years has devoted itself to the extension of the cause of historical truth—the American Historical Association.

When in 1919 the American Catholic Historical Association held its first meeting, one of these founders of the American Historical Association, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, made the inaugural speech of the meeting. To the spirit and leadership of the older Association, therefore, this newer and more special organization, the Catholic Historical Association, is indebted in more than a merely complimentary sense.

Inspiring long before this date the minds of the Catholics who launched this venture was the call of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore whereat all the Bishops of the United States were assembled. In that year, 1884, in an official pastoral letter, the Bishops urged upon Catholic parents the duty of training their children to a love of history. "Teach your children," the letter says, "to take a special interest in the history of our country. We consider the establishment of our country's independence, the shaping of its liberties and laws as a work of special Providence, its framers 'building wiser than they knew,' the Almighty's hand guiding them. . . . We must keep firm and solid the liberties of our country by keeping fresh the noble memories of the past, and thus send forth from our Catholic homes into the arena of life not partisans but patriots."

The progress of any and every nation is due in great part to the intelligent study of the history of those who have gone before. It is very necessary to be well imbued with the heritage of ideas, virtues and deeds of great men and nations who have left their stamp on history—the stamp of wisdom, of virtue, of piety and of culture. It is necessary that we prepare for the future

by faithfully making our own the treasures of the past. Tomorrow is uncertain; the past gives us certitude. Out of the knowledge of yesterday must be born the wisdom of tomorrow. But the recording of this past must be faithful and sincere. It must record; it must also teach how the defects of the past may be avoided and how those glories which make a country illustrious, esteemed and loved, may be continued and increased.

This present year marks the golden jubilee of two organizations of Catholics who answered the appeal of Leo XIII and of the Baltimore Council—the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia and the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York. To the leaders of both these organizations the American Catholic Historical Association is, in turn, indebted for guidance and co-operation during the past fifteen years. What these two societies have been in the Catholic history of the United States, the American Catholic Historical Association set out in 1919 to be for the Catholic Church in general.

The founders of the American Catholic Historical Association had several purposes in mind when they formed themselves into an organization: first, the recognition that in English-speaking lands a great field of misunderstanding and consequent controversy between Catholics and non-Catholics has been and is the field of history; second, the desire to have one central organization for the historical activities of all Catholics, cleric and lay, in the United States; third, the increase of knowledge in the historical past of the Church both among Catholics and non-Catholics; and fourth: the mutual help and encouragement Catholic and non-Catholic scholars would receive from these annual gatherings where all may meet under the aegis of history and find common ground for respect, one for another, and esteem for the Catholic Church.

The number and variety of the papers read at its annual sessions during the past fifteen years are evidence of how successfully the Catholic Historical Association has followed along the lines it laid down at its foundation.

Scarcely any phase of the historical past of the Church has been overlooked. Those essays have considered, for example, the problem of Church and State, civil and ecclesiastical law, concordats, education, conversions, the reunion of Christendom, Catholic charities, nationalism, ecclesiastical historiography, the Catholic philosophy of history, and many other vital historical questions affecting the progress of the world through the centuries. More than half of these 175 essays have been printed in the official organ of the Association, the *Catholic Historical Review*.

The record for a society so young and occupying such an important field is surely a favorable one. The Association has proved both its necessity and its value as an agency in the promotion of historical truth. Its leaders indeed may be numbered among the *filii lucis* of this generation. They have carried to men and women of all creeds the light, showing both the truth and the importance of Catholic Church history.

That history has vital bearing on a right understanding of this country and its institutions. On that field I do not in any sense feel competent to speak in detail. But one does not need to be a student of American history to know of the vital influence exercised by Catholic leaders of the time, by the antecedent traditions of the Maryland colony, in the framing of parts of your Constitution which have been of special blessing to the growth of America as a nation. Almost synchronous with its birth, the Holy See established the American hierarchy and placed at its head that great churchman and patriot,

Archbishop John Carroll. The tribute paid to George Washington at his death by this first American Catholic Archbishop is considered one of the finest ever pronounced on the Father of his Country. From that time to this the Catholic Church and the Catholics in the United States form an integral and a most important part of the history, development and growth of the United States. But one diocese at the beginning, there are now over one hundred within continental United States. All may well be studied in their past as well as in their present, for the spiritual good they exercise; for the vast power of civic justice, order and peace which, through the faithful, they express; for their innumerable educational institutions; for their great works of corporate and social charity; for their monumental churches; for the beneficent influence the religious principles they teach have exerted. Every one of these dioceses has written a golden page in the book of American history. Every one of these dioceses is writing such history today. No student of American history can fully know his country and remain unacquainted with such history.

To make more readily known the historic work of Catholicism—of the present as well as the past—as the American Catholic Historical Association has been doing during the years of its life, is to make the Church loved. The master key to a hundred closed doors in the history of humanity is the knowledge of what the Catholic Church is, and what it does, what its life through the centuries has been, is, and will be for the future.

This is the scholarly incentive, motive and aim of the American Catholic Historical Association. Its leaders show Catholic history to be not a mere chronicle of past events, but a living reality, bridging the past with the present and the future. Every section of educational life in this great nation must needs profit by the width of outlook and sympathy which such a movement inevitably produces in the minds and hearts of both Catholics and non-Catholics.

In conclusion, I ask the blessing of Almighty God on the American Catholic Historical Association, its leaders and its members, and pray that He will bestow upon them a long series of successes in their chosen field of historical labors.

The Committee on General Arrangements was composed of the following: Associate Justice Pierce Butler, Honorary Chairman, Most Rev. John M. McNamara, D. D., V. G., Honorary Vice-Chairman, Hon. Mary O'Toole, Honorary Vice-Chairman, Justice Daniel W. O'Donoghue, Honorary Vice-Chairman, J. Harvey Cain, Esq., Honorary Vice-Chairman, Dr. Herbert Wright, Chairman, The Rt. Rev. P. C. Gavan, D. D., The Rt. Rev. E. L. Buckey, D. D., The Rt. Rev. E. J. Connelly, D. D., Mrs. George P. Scriven, Miss Miriam T. Rooney, Rev. Edward P. McAdams, John K. M. Ewing, Esq., William T. M. Gamble, Ph. D., Charles C. Tansill, Ph. D., Henry Grattan Doyle, Ph. D., Thomas H. Healy, Ph. D., John R. Fitzpatrick, LL. D., Rev. Thomas A. Walsh, and Dr. John J. Meng, Secretary. The Committee on Registration and Information had as its chairman Mr. Francis J. McCann of the Catholic University of America and as secretary Miss Margaret Guilday. The other members were: Miss Anna Dill Gamble, Miss Mary G. Hawks, Miss Elizabeth Lynskey, Miss Anna Mul-

larkey, Miss Agnes G. Regan, Miss Agnes V. Ryan, Miss Agnes Stock, Miss Mary C. Supple, Miss Elizabeth Sweeney, Miss Frances L. Trew.

The opening session marked a departure since the ASSOCIATION took part for the first time in a Joint Session with the American Historical Association and the American Society of Church History on the general topic: *The Development of Religious Liberty in Colonial America.* Professor Evarts B. Greene of Columbia University presided. Three papers were read. The Hon. J. Moss Ives of Danbury, Connecticut, who represented the ASSOCIATION, spoke on *The Contribution of the Catholic Church to Religious Liberty in Colonial America.* Professor P. G. E. Miller of Harvard University, who represented the American Historical Association, spoke on *The Contribution of the Protestant Churches to Religious Liberty in Colonial America.* Professor W. W. Sweet of the University of Chicago represented the American Society of Church History and spoke on *The American Environment and Religious Liberty.* The second and third of these exceptionally well-written papers appeared in the March, 1935, number of *Church History* (Chicago, Ill., 5757 University Avenue). Judge Ives' paper will be printed in the next issue of this REVIEW.

For the benefit of those members who were unable to be present at our sessions, the following brief notices of the scholars who read papers at the meeting, are given:

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS, A. M., Litt. D., whose paper was entitled *The Separation of Church and State in Maryland,* is a graduate of Washington and Lee University. After some years spent in teaching in private schools of Virginia and Maryland, Dr. Andrews became literary advisor for the Yale University Press and had an important share in the publication of the *Chronicles of America.* He is the author of many historical works, among which are the following: *A History of the United States,* 1913; *A Brief History of the United States,* 1916; *A Heritage of Freedom,* 1918; *American History and Goverment,* 1921; *The Book of the American's Creed,* 1921; *The Biggest Book in the World,* 1925; *History of Maryland, Province and State,* 1929; and *The Founding of Maryland,* 1933.

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, Ph. D., whose essay on *The Jesuits in New Spain* was illustrated by a large map which he made for the subject, is one of the few honorary doctors of the Catholic University of America. He has been the director of the Bancroft Library and professor in American history in the University of California for almost thirty years. His scholarly productions during that time have given him international scholastic fame, and much of his work has revealed the great Catholic past of our American southwest and far west. Among these may be mentioned: *Guide to Materials for United States History in the Archives of Mexico,* 1913; *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century,* 1915; *Colonization of North America* (with Thomas Maitland Marshall), 1920; *The Spanish Borderlands,* 1921; *The Debatable Land* (with Mary Ross), 1925; *Palou and His Writings,* 1926; *A Pacific Coast Pioneer,*

1928; *Anza's California Expeditions* (1774-1776), 5 vols., 1930; *Outpost of Empire*, 1931; *Athanase de Mezières*, 1914; *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1710*, 1915; Kino's *Memoirs*, 2 vols., 1919; *Spain's Title to Georgia*, 1925; *Palou's Noticias de la Nueva California*, 4 vols., 1926, and Crespi's *Pacific Coast Diaries*, 1927.

Hon. J. Moss Ives, who participated in the Joint Session as the representative of the Association, is a graduate of the Yale Law School and has held many important posts in the Connecticut State judiciary; his historical interest centers mainly about the problem of religious equality in the colonial period. Some of the results of his researches have been published in *Thought* and in New England periodicals. Judge Ives has recently completed a book on the subject of colonial religious toleration.

Rev. John La Farge, S. J., whose paper on *The Survival of the Catholic Faith in Southern Maryland* appears in this issue of the Review, is the son of the great American artist, John LaFarge; he is a graduate of the Universities of Harvard and of Innsbruck. Since 1926, he has been on the editorial staff of *America* and *Thought*. He was second vice-president of the Association in 1934. Among his published works is *The Jesuits in Modern Times* (1928).

Rev. Francis A. Mullin, Ph. D., has been professor of history at Columbia College, Dubuque, Iowa. He completed his work for the doctorate in medieval history at the Catholic University of America in 1930, his dissertation being *A History of the Work of the Cistercians in Yorkshire: 1131-1300*. At present he is engaged in additional research work at the University of Michigan.

Rev. Francis Steck, O. F. M., Ph. D., whose scholarly paper on *The First Half-Century of Spanish Dominion in Mexico* has been given to the Catholic press of the country by the N. C. W. C. News Service, completed his graduate work in American history at the Catholic University of America, with a doctoral dissertation on *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*. He has been professor of history at Quincy College, Quincy, Illinois, and research scholar and historiographer of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission. In September, 1933, he joined the teaching staff of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., where he is at present conducting courses in Hispanic-American history. In addition to the above mentioned study he has written on *The Franciscans and the Protestant Revolution in England* and on *The Glories of the Franciscan Order*.

Rev. Robert J. White is a member of the faculty of the School of Law of of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. He holds the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Laws from Harvard University, and the degrees of Bachelor of Sacred Theology and Doctor of Canon Law from the Catholic University. Before his ordination, Dr. White practiced law successfully for eight years in Massachusetts, part of which time he was Assistant District Attorney of Middlesex County. He is a member of the Bars of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, the United States District Court for Massachusetts, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the First Circuit, the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and the United States Supreme Court. He is the author of *The Legal Effect of Ante-Nuptial*

Promises, and has contributed to the *American Ecclesiastical Review* and the *Harvard Law Review*. He was formerly National Chaplain of the American Legion, and is at present the Vice-President of the Fédération Interalliée des Anciens Combattants. His paper *On Some Opportunities of the Church Historian in the Reform and Progress of the Law* appears in this issue of the REVIEW.

MICHAEL WILLIAMS, Litt D., president of the ASSOCIATION for 1934, editor of the *Commonweal*, is one of the leading Catholic litterateurs of the United States. His presidential address—*The Contemporary Crisis in Thought and the Historian*—appeared in the January, 1935, issue of the REVIEW. Among his published works are: *The Book of the High Romance* (1918), *American Catholics in the World War* (1921), *The Little Flower of Carmel* (1926), *Little Brother Francis of Assisi* (1926), *Catholicism and the Modern Mind* (1928), *The Shadow of the Pope* (1932), and *The Catholic Church in Action* (1934).

At the final meeting of the executive council (Thursday, December 27), it was announced that arrangements were being made to publish the essays read in the Pittsburgh (1933) meeting on the Catholic philosophy of history as volume three of the *Papers* of the ASSOCIATION through Messrs P. J. Kenedy and Sons of New York. The secretary also reported that a conference had been held at the home of Professor J. D. M. Ford of Harvard University on Novemebr 29, 1934, to discuss plans for the meeting this coming Christmas week, 1935, during which year Dr. Ford is president of the ASSOCIATION. Those present were: Dr. Ford, Professor Louis Mercier of Harvard University, Fathers Harney, S. J., and Murphy, S. J., of Boston College, Rev. Dr. Sexton of Brighton Seminary, Father Quinlan, superintendent of the Boston Catholic schools, and Mr. Daniel Sargent of Harvard University.

The annual business meeting which followed, was largely devoted to the reading of reports:

1. REPORT OF THE TREASURER (Rev. Dr. CARTWRIGHT):

ACCOUNT I. GENERAL FUND.

INVESTMENTS—December 1, 1933		$5,500.00
CASH ON HAND—December 1, 1933	$1,067.36	
RECEIPTS:		
Annual Dues (Including Campaign for New Members)	2,936.78	
Interest (From Investments)	247.50	
Contributions to defray the expenses of Pittsburgh Meeting	220.00	
Cash Sale of *Catholic Historical Review*	6.00	
	$4,477.64	$5,500.00

DISBURSEMENTS:

Office Expense:			
Rent of Office and Telephone Service	$ 74.00		
Supplies and Service	286.53		
Office Secretary's Salary	600.00		
Bookkeeper	120.00		
		$1,080.53	
Expense of Annual Meeting		575.20	
Expense of *Catholic Historical Review*		1,243.50	
Reprints of Articles of the *Review*		20.80	
Donations:			
Writings on American History	$ 50.00		
Miss Lyon, Bonus	50.00		
		100.00	
Rent of Safety Deposit Box		5.50	
Sundries		7.50	
Government Tax on Checks		1.20	
			$3,034.23
CASH ON HAND—December 1, 1934			$1,443.41
INVESTMENTS—December 1, 1934			$5,500.00

ACCOUNT II—REVOLVING FUND FOR PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS.

CASH ON HAND—December 1, 1933	$617.96	
RECEIPTS:		
Sales of Volume, *United States Ministers to the Papal States*	462.37	
		$1,080.33
DISBURSEMENTS:		
To J. H. Furst Co. for mailing 330 copies of Dr. Stock's volume etc.	$ 116.05	
Government Tax on Check	.02	
		116.07
CASH ON HAND—December 1, 1934		$ 964.26

SUMMARY.

INVESTMENTS:		
ACCOUNT I		$5,500.00
CASH ON HAND:		
ACCOUNT I	$1,443.41	
ACCOUNT II	964.26	
TOTAL CASH BALANCE—December 1, 1934		2,407.67
GRAND TOTAL—December 1, 1934		$7,907.67

2. Report of the Publications Committee (Dr. Stock):

In last year's report your committee recommended that authority be given for the copying and collating of the instructions and despatches, in the Department of State, of the United States Consuls to the Papal States—which document are to form Volume II of the Association's *Documents*. Acting upon the authority then granted this work has been begun. Approximately one year will be required to complete the transcription of this material for editing. Your chairman hopes to have this volume ready for the printer within two years.

The only other matter to be mentioned in this report is the proposed presentation of the papers on the Philosophy of History, read at the Pittsburgh meeting of 1933, as Volume III of the Association's *Papers*. It is expected that advance subscriptions will be sufficient to justify our acceptance of the publisher's generous terms and thus preserve in more permanent form our contribution to a subject which must always be of utmost importance to the Catholic historian.

3. Report of the Committee on Membership (Dr. John J. Meng):

The Committee on Membership has the honor of presenting the following annual report as of December 15, 1934.

Total membership on December 15, 1933		659
Delinquent members (2 years or more)	40	
Resignations during 1934	20	
Loss by death during 1934	11	
	—	71
Total		588
New Members, 1934:		
Life	0	
Annual	69	
	—	69
Total Membership (December 15, 1934)		657

The new Annual Members are: Rev. Thomas W. Albin, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Most Rev. Henry Althoff, D. D., Belleville, Illinois; Rev. J. Leo Barley, Emmitsburg, Maryland; John J. Bennett, Jr., Esq., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Rev. James I. Bifield, Cumberland, Md.; Rev. Celestine N. Bittle, O. M. Cap., Milwaukee, Wis.; Charles R. Boden, Esq., San Francisco, Calif.; Rev. Harold J. Bolton, D. D., Muskegon, Mich.; Brendan F. Brown, D. Phil. (Oxon.), Catholic University of America; Rev. Patrick W. Browne, Ph. D., S. T. D., Washington, D. C.; Rev. John P. Clancy, Charleston, S. C.; Rev. Raymond J. Clancy, C. S. C., Portland, Ore.; Rev. Dr. James L. Connolly, St. Paul, Minn.; Stearns Cunningham, Esq., New York City; Most Rev. Daniel F. Desmond,

D. D., Alexandria, La.; Most Rev. Stephan J. Donahue, D. D., New York City.; Rev. Edward J. Donovan, Great Neck, N. Y.; Rev. Michael Ducey, O. S. B., Rome, Italy; Rev. Edmond J. Fontaine, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Francis S. Guy, Ph. D., Little Rock, Ark.; Rev. Dr. Charles Hart, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Charles J. Hennessy, S. J., La Plata, Md.; Rev. Michael J. Hynes, D. S. H., Cleveland, Ohio; Very Rev. H. Hyvernat, D. D., Washington, D. C.; Ross Hoffman, Ph. D., New York City; Rev. William H. Hoffman, Washington, D. C.; Judge J. Moss Ives, Danbury, Conn.; Rt. Rev. Felix F. Kaup, D. D., Richmond, Va.; Bernard J. Kelley, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. L. J. Kelly, S. J., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Thomas J. Kelly, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Rev. V. F. Kienberger, O. P., Houston, Texas; Mrs. Erasmus C. Lindley, New York City; Loyola High School, Baltimore, Maryland; Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, D. D., Amarillo, Texas; Rev. William S. McAleer, Huntington, N. Y.; Sister M. Helen McCarthy, Belmont, N. C.; Rev. Francis D. McGraw, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. William M. Maddock, C. M., Germantown, Pa.; Rev. George A. Mahoney, O. S. F. S., Wilmington, Del.; Rev. Denis P. Meade, Missoula, Mont.; Most Rev. Edward Mooney, D. D., Rochester, N. Y.; Frederick V. Murphy, Washington, D. C.; Rev. J. R. Murphy, Elroy, Wis.; Rev. Mark Nolan, O. M. C., Rensselaer, N. Y.; Most Rev. William D. O'Brien, D. D., Chicago, Ill.; John J. O'Connor, Ph. D., Washington, D. C.; Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, D. D., Philadelphia, Pa.; E. Payne Palmer, M. D., Phoenix, Ariz.; Rev. James T. Reilly, S. M., Brunswick, Ga.; Rev. Herbert Rimlinger, Wilmington, Del.; Rev. W. H. Russell, Ph. D., Washington, D. C.; Rev. John J. Russell, D. D., Baltimore, Maryland; Rev. Michael A. Ryan, Ellicott City, Md.; Most Rev. Philip G. Scher, D. D., Fresno, Calif.; Rev. Lambert Schrott, O. S. B., Newton, N. J.; Saint Benedict's College, Atchison, Kansas; Sister Aquinata, O. P., Washington, D. C.; Sister M. Gerard, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Sister M. Regis, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Sister Marie Madeleine, River College, Hudson, N. H.; Sister Mary Agnes Sharkey, Convent Station, N. J.; Rev. Francis J. Stanton, Cleveland, Ohio; Most Rev. Urban J. Vehr, D. D., Denver, Colo.; Rev. Frederick E. Welfle, S. J., Cincinnati, Ohio; Most Rev. C. H. Winkelmann, D. D., St. Louis, Mo.; Teachers' College, Athenaeum of Ohio, Cincinnati, Ohio; Rev. George Timpe, P. S. M., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Francis Byrne, D. D., Dumbarton, Va.

The deceased members for the year 1934 are as follows:

The Most Rev. J. W. Shaw, Archbishop of New Orleans, La.; the Most Rev. John J. Nilan, Bishop of Hartford, Conn.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. P. J. Petri, D. D., Atlantic City, N. J.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edw. J. Egan, D. D., Phillipsburg, N. J.; Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., Santa Barbara Mission, Calif.; Rev. George Skelly, O. F. M., St. Bonaventure College, N. Y.; Rev. Frederick W. Dickinson, San Antonio, Texas; Rev. A. M. Mark, Washington, D. C.; Rev. T. J. Crotty, Lancaster, Pa.; James J. Phelan, Brookline, Mass.; Mr. H. A. Molony, Charleston, S. C.

During the past year an appeal for a Membership Campaign Fund was generously met by our members and part of this fund was used to

bring the work of the ASSOCIATION to several thousand leaders, cleric and lay, in the educational fields. The result so far has been encouraging and similar information will be sent out during the year 1935.

4. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS (Rev. FRANCIS J. BETTEN, S. J.)

The Committee on Nominations has the honor to present the following names for election as officers and members of the Executive Council for the year 1935:

OFFICERS:

President—JEREMIAH D. M. FORD, Ph. D., head of the department of Romance Languages at Harvard University, and editor of *Speculum*, the quarterly review of the Medieval Academy of America.

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5. REPORT OF THE SECRETARY (Dr. GUILDAY):

Dr. Guilday's report was in the nature of an intimate retrospect of the past fifteen years which the ASSOCIATION has devoted to study and research in general Church history. After expressing the thanks of the officers and members to the management of the Hotel Mayflower, to the committees and to the Washington newspapers for their coöperation in making the meeting so pronounced a success, Dr. Guilday said in part:

No greater honor has been given to the ASSOCIATION during the past fifteen years than the presence here as our guest yesterday evening of His Excellency, the Most Reverend Archbishop Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States. Those of you who were present at this brilliant reception and who listened to His Excellency's survey of the interest shown by the popes of our generation in the progress of historical research, need no further proof of the fact that under Divine Providence, our ASSOCIATION has been

highly instrumental in beginning a nation-wide renaissance in the study of ecclesiastical history.

As we close this fifteenth year of our devotion to the cause of historical truth, there is present a strong temptation to give a detailed account of our progress and to seek out in the successes as well as in the failures of these years helpful suggestions for the future. But to do so adequately would prolong the time allotted to this annual business meeting and might deprive you of the pleasure of attending other sessions now being conducted by the other societies with whom we are meeting concurrently during these days. The success of our undertaking so far since 1919 can be passed over. We should, however, briefly mention some few failures in the progress of our Association since that time.

There is in the first place the failure to attract a larger membership. In spite of the wide geographical distribution of the original group which met at Cleveland (1919) to found our society, this strengthening aspect of our membership has not continued proportionately. In 1920, we had 57 Life Members and 98 Annual Members, in all 155. The following year the total membership was 198, and from that time until 1930, there was a steady increase, too closely localized, however, to represent all Catholic American interests in the historical sciences. That year the number was 726. We suffered as did all learned societies on account of the financial crisis, with the result that our total membership, as you have just heard from Dr. John Meng, chairman of that committee, on December 15, 1934, was 659, and this decline occurred in spite of the fact that a membership campaign, financed by a group of generous members, brought 69 new members to our ranks. I am loath to accept this situation as due entirely to financial conditions. It may well be that the purpose and the scholastic aims of the ASSOCIATION are not well enough known to our Catholic educators and scholars, both ecclesiastical and lay; and during the coming year I shall endeavor to obtain the coöperation of all our members in augmenting our roster. The second failure is somewhat more serious. It is the inability of our standing committees to make perceptible progress in the work assigned to them a decade ago. These committees are: Bibliography of Church History; Archival Centers for American Catholic History; a Manual of Catholic Historical Literature; a Manual of Historical Objections against the Catholic Church; the Teaching of Ecclesiastical History; Catholic Historical Activities in the United States; and Text-books in Church History. Of these, only three have been able so far to make preliminary reports. The particular disappointment in this respect is our failure to obtain a subsidy for the work of the first of these committees, that of a Bibliography of Catholic Church History for the use of research students and teachers. These committees should be augmented until all aspects of historical science are covered, so that by a natural evolution, the ASSOCIATION will develop into five or six central conferences with separate sessions at our annual meetings. To do this will require an endowment so that the work go not limping along as at present. There is a third failure which apparently must be taken in good spirit owing to the financial straits of our people, and that is the establishment and the endowment of an Institute of Historical Research at the Catholic University of America where, side by side with the excellent direction being given in other universities here in Washington, in the Library of Congress, and in various governmental bureaus and institutions, we might be of help to non-Catholic students and teachers in that field of research which is peculiarly our own, namely, general Catholic

Church history. In view of what the ASSOCIATION might accomplish for the advancement of historical science in the United States, such an endowment should not be less than $500,000, for the building, equipment, maintenance and a permanent salaried staff. A fourth part of our activities, the first evidence of which has proven to be so singular a success—Dr. Leo F. Stock's *United States Ministers to the Papal States: 1848-1868* (Vol. I of our *Documents*) may lag also for the want of a Revolving Fund of $2500, needed to continue the publication of other source-books of this nature. Here again it must be recorded that more than one appeal to wealthy Catholics has met with an indifferent response.

The ASSOCIATION has seldom entered the field of American Catholic history, believing that the two Societies of New York and Philadelphia are admirably fulfilling the object of their foundation fifty years ago. Nevertheless, the ASSOCIATION should contribute to this section of Church history by another series of publications—*Historical Collections* of rare or scarce sources of American Catholic history for the use of research students. Several volumes of these *Collections* are ready for the press but their publication must await a generous donor. The two volumes of our *Papers* published thus far—Vol. I, *Church Historians*; Vol. II, *The Catholic Church in Contemporary Europe: 1919-1931*—were issued at no cost to us, and let it be admitted at no gain to the century-old firm of Messrs. P. J. Kenedy and Sons of New York. Vol. III of these *Papers*, to be entitled *The Catholic Philosophy of History*, which would be the only book of its kind in the English language, remains in manuscript for the want of a subsidy to see it through the press. This again I should chronicle as a failure, in case financial backing is not given to the ASSOCIATION.

But let us turn from these shadows of our fifteen years and glance quickly over the accrued assets of our ASSOCIATION. First and foremost is the encouragement we have received from the hierarchy—the cardinals, archbishops and bishops of the Church in the United States. At several of our annual meetings I have called attention to the fact that with but few exceptions all these spiritual leaders are members of our society and that whenever we have assembled in an episcopal centre we have been made to feel the high esteem in which the work of the ASSOCIATION is held by the members of the American hierarchy. At St. Louis in 1920, Archbishop Glennon spared no expense to bring before the learned circles of that old French city the meaning of our ASSOCIATION in the intellectual advance of our country. At New Haven in 1922, it was Bishop John Gregory Murray, now Archbishop of St. Paul, who, as chairman of the committee on local arrangements, made that one of the most successful gatherings of the past fifteen years. At Columbus in 1923, Bishop James J. Hartley, then a member of our executive council, guided us to further success. At Philadelphia in 1926, His Eminence Cardinal Dougherty personally assisted in perfecting our plans for that well-remembered meeting. At Indianapolis in 1928, the much regretted Bishop Chartrand was chairman of the local arrangements committee. At Boston in 1930, we were honored by the presence of His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell who made a characteristically profound appeal to the ASSOCIATION to carry on in spite of the depression, then rising all about us. At Toronto in 1932, it was the late lamented Archbishop McNeil who made us doubly welcome, as Americans and as Catholics, in the great intellectual capital of Ontario; and last year in Pittsburg, it was the genial and learned head of that diocese, the Most Rev. Hugh C. Boyle, who as chairman of local arrangements committee directed

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our sessions so capably that the memories of our short stay in that historic old city, where nearly two hundred years before the first Catholic pioneers began the great American trek toward the west, still linger with us. Name upon name might be recalled of other prelates, monsignori and priests, both religious and secular, who took pride in assisting our officers to move forward year after year toward the ideal we fashioned for ourselves in 1919. In every meeting since 1919, we have been supported by our teaching Sisterhoods and Brotherhoods. To these would I add a host of laity who took part as members of local committees in helping us shape the plans for all these annual assemblies. On all these committees from the beginning, non-Catholics, particularly ministers and bishops of other Churches, have participated.

Another aspect of our success has been the academic quality of the papers read at these annual assemblies, papers on hundreds of topics within the general field of Catholic Church history, as enumerated by His Excellency, the Apostolic Delegate, yesterday evening. A catalogue of these is now in course of preparation and will be printed during the coming year. Since a greater number of these historical papers has been printed in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, which since 1922 has been the official organ of the ASSOCIATION, I gladly take this opportunity of offering our gratitude to its former Editor, Rev. Dr. Patrick W. Browne of the Catholic University of America, and to my co-editors Dr. Leo F. Stock and Rev. Dr. George B. Stratemeier, who have so generously cooperated during the past six years in maintaining a high standard of literary excellence and scientific merit. Under this same topic I should be indeed remiss not to mention the name of Mr. J. Harvey Cain, the secretary-treasurer of the REVIEW, who has so ably handled the finances of the REVIEW during this period of depression.

Faithful to our original policy of securing the coöperation of the laity in the conduct of our ASSOCIATION, all our presidents have been Catholic laymen whose scholarly writings have advanced historical science in this country. To those gentlemen, all well known to the historical fraternity, we owe much of the prestige which has come to us during the first fifteen years. Their scholastic renown arises from their homes of higher learning—the Sorbonne of Paris, Harvard University, Columbia University, Princeton, the University of Toronto, the Catholic University of America and elsewhere. It may also be interesting to add in passing that of the 175 papers read at our meetings, 50 have been from the pens of the laity, Catholic and non-Catholic.

Among our officers during this same period have been scholarly representatives of the secular clergy and of the religious orders, particularly the Society of Jesus, the Dominicans, the Vincentians, the Benedictines, the Franciscans, the Capuchins and the Congregation of the Holy Cross. In this regard, I wish to mention two of our members—Rev. Gilbert G. Garraghan, S. J., who has recently been called to Rome to continue the historical researches of Father Thomas Hughes, S. J., and the Most Rev. Charles L. Souvay, C. M., who has been recently elected Superior-General of the Vincentians and who now resides in Paris.

Many other evidences might be given you of the spirit of the ASSOCIATION. All of them would tend to prove that in fifteen years the ASSOCIATION has gradually proven itself to be worthy of the ideals with which it began its career in 1919.

The main purpose of the ASSOCIATION was to create, where necessary, and to encourage, where advisable, a broader and deeper interest in the problems which face the historian of the Catholic Church. No one will deny that, in the present state of historical study of those problems which effect all,

regardless of faith, our programme was, and is still, ambitious. But it was not, and it never has been, ambitious in the opprobrious sense of that word. Were it our misfortune at any moment along the pathway of the past fifteen years to have struck a single false note, we should never have had the wholehearted coöperation of other non-Catholic organizations devoted to the advancement of historical truth. In meeting after meeting one fact has been emphasized in our annual reports—the unfailing interest members of other historical societies, not devoted in any way to Catholic Church history, have shown us since our foundation in 1919. We come together during these last days of the year—the most sacred time of the twelfth month just passed—we exchange views, discuss historical problems, learn to know one another better, give the younger group the precious opportunity to meet, sometimes to consult, in all freedom and urbanity, the scholars whose names will one day be written in the book of life of historical eminence in our country. Religious creeds may be as apart as the poles, political viewpoints may separate minds and hearts, and philosophic outlooks on life may divide those who attend these annual sessions, but in spite of these divergencies, one impulse dominates—the quest of the truth. This is the common meeting-ground, where all else is forgotten. Here, too, can one find as nowhere else, a splendid spirit of tolerance and mutual respect and esteem which carries with it through the year a sense of solidarity of thought and of purpose that can hardly be described in words. All sense the fact that in spite of the long journey which must be made in so many cases and in spite of the expense involved there is something that is given in return, generously and sympathetically, which enheartens the scholar for the work that lies ahead. Not often do we find in the cold reports of these meetings this deeper and, let us admit it, this holier, aspect. But there it is, as all who have taken part in these annual sessions can testify.

Fifteen years is not a lengthy time for a perfect retrospect; but there has been all through that short span an *élan* among the members of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION which justifies our halting a moment to cast our eyes backward over the distance gained and in prayerful silence to sum up the blessings of Almighty God upon an enterprise begun and carried on for one sole purpose—the honor and glory of the Spouse of Christ on Earth. The Christmas spirit is upon us—Glory to God in the Highest, Peace on Earth to Men of Good will. These sacred words might well form the motto on the escutcheon of the ASSOCIATION. That we have striven honestly to do—to give glory to God and to His Holy Church, to bring peace to men of good will toward the Church. It will be the task of some future historian to record how far we have succeeded in this noble design—"Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit, sed Deus incrumentum dedit—I have planted, Apollo watered, but God gave the increase."

At the close of the annual business meeting, Monsignor Splaine who was present as the representative of His Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Boston, extended a welcome to the ASSOCIATION to meet in 1935 in that city. The invitation was unanimously accepted. Those present had the pleasure of hearing from Father Felix Fellner, O. S. B., prior of St. Vincent's Archabbey, Latrobe, Penna., a detailed outline of the proposed centenary history of the American Benedictines. The General

Session on Friday, December 28, was presided over by the Hon. Mary O'Toole, Judge of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia. The public sessions had as chairmen, Henry Grattan Doyle, Ph. D., Dean of the College of George Washington University, and John C. Fitzpatrick, Dean of the School of Law of Columbus University, who were presented by Dr. Herbert Wright of the Catholic University of America.

Under the efficient management of Dr. Leo F. Stock, president of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION in 1929, who was executive chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements of the American Historical Association, the fiftieth annual meeting of this great national society presented so many and so varied attractions that all who participated in its sessions declared the general meeting to be the most brilliant in its history.

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of the Church. Volume I. By PHILIP HUGHES. (New York: Sheed & Ward, Inc. 1934. Pp. 395. $3.50.)

In this, the first of the three volumes that Father Hughes has planned to cover the history of the Church from its beginnings up to the present time, there is outlined the political and religious milieu into which the Church was born, and the story of the Church's development up to the beginning of the eighth century in the welter of "perils from my own nation, in perils from the Gentiles . . . in perils from false brethren." To give the general reader so full, intelligible, coherent and readable an account in so small a compass is no slight feat. It is one that Father Hughes has accomplished in a way to leave the reader in his debt. The synchronous charts of all the important people and events of this period—popes, emperors, heretics, writers, Christian and non-Christian, and general historical events—are of great value. Chapter II, presenting a sketch of the Founder of the Church, and the first generation, and Chapter V on the Way of Christian Life, contain information that the majority of readers, of historical bent or otherwise, will find enlightening and worth while. The crux of heresies and the difficult matter of the turbulent councils of this period are clearly and ably set down.

His fellow historians will doubtless cross swords with Father Hughes on several points, objecting for example to his unqualified assignment of well-known events to dates not so definitely known, such as the death of Herod the Great and the birth of Our Lord; or to his statement of probabilities as facts, such as the presence of St. Paul in Spain. The attribution to Alexander Severus of a knowledge of the organization of the Church that prompted him to hold it up as an example will be considered extravagant. Apologists for the Visible Church could wish that sources bore the author out on this point.

But leaving aside small matters about which historians may disagree, the general reader who is interested in the early history of the Church will find in this volume an excellent handbook well suited to his purpose.

LINDA MALEY O'HARA.

Brookland, D. C.

St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland. By EOIN MACNEILL, D. Litt., National University of Ireland; Litt. D. honoris causa, Trinity College, Dublin; Member of the Royal Irish Academy; Correspondent de l'Institut de France; Professor of Early and Mediaeval History, University College, Dublin. (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1934. Pp. vii, 122. $1.25.)

Dr. MacNeill's slim volume is a comprehensive epitome of the authentic Acts of St. Patrick. It is, strictly speaking, not a formal biography, but rather a critico-historical commentary on the biographical matter found in the Saint's admittedly authentic writings, the *Confession* and the *Epistle to Coroticus*. The *Confession*, actually an *Apologia pro vita sua*, is in many respects, noticeably in motive, structural features, apologetic method, emotional appeal and revelation of author's personality, a remarkable prototype of Newman's famous *Apologia*. As a source document it is important; the *Epistle*, an official decree of excommunication, is relatively unimportant. "On these two documents chiefly the present account of St. Patrick is based." Frequently the documentary evidence fails to explain itself; then, "legends originating in authentic records and traditions," but not "legends as such," are invoked to supply competent complementary testimony.

There can be no doubt of Dr. MacNeill's supreme qualification for the task he undertook, for he is universally acknowledged as the foremost living authority on early Irish history and archeology, especially on the Patrician period and *milieu*. The style of exposition is objective, incisive, uninvolved, rarely burdened with metaphor, imagery, or literary adornment; direct and declarative, neither argumentative nor apologetic, it is for a critical treatise perhaps a bit too dogmatically assertive; the diction is of the clearest and simplest. We have at last a competent, consistent, comprehensive, and withal absorbingly interesting account of the authentic St. Patrick.

There is nothing novel in treatment or subject-matter. The author holds — to mention only the points contested by controversialists — that St. Patrick was born "somewhere near the shores of the Severn estuary" in 385 or 386 A. D., that he died in 461 and was buried (place of death not stated) at Saul; that he was consecrated bishop by St. Germanus at Auxerre, and in 441 made a visit to Rome.

The winnowing of chaff from the grain in the historical record of the Irish Apostle is a needful and difficult work well done. If we notice a few faults, it is by way of noticing cloud shadows on a brilliant landscape. To cite one, we venture to think that the method of quoting the text subjects it to an inordinate strain, sometimes exceeding even the limits of elasticity; *e. g.* "He was a native of Roman Britain, *Brittaniae* (itali-

cized) the name by which he calls his native country." Now the form *Brittaniae* is not found in the original text; *in Britannis* (ablative plural) is the precise term by which St. Patrick always refers to his native land (C. 23, 32, 43); moreover the name is ethnographical (*Britons*), not geographical (*Britains*). Again, amalgamations obtained by welding together phrases culled from different parts of the text (in one instance [p. 5] from portions as far apart as the *Confession* and *Epistle*) are presented as quotations of an integral and continuous original text; this practice savors of textual accommodation.

Occasional mistranslations or misinterpretations that spread distemper throughout a ganglionic context are of more consequence: St. Patrick concludes the account of his flight from captivity thus: *Et iterum post paucos annos in Britannis eram cum parentibus meis*, "And so, once more, after a few years (the six of captivity just ended) I was amongst the Britons with my parents." Dr. MacNeill, following Bury and White (authorities accepted in his Foreword) misconstrues: "And again after a few years (subsequent to the captivity and flight) I was in Britain with my parents." The inevitably consequent maze of confusion is inadequately explained: "Phrases of this kind need not be understood in the strictest sense" (p. 30). Another similar misconception (p. 29) necessitates another similar lame explanation: St. Patrick, ostensibly referring to a second captivity, states, "And again after many years I became a captive," manifestly many years after the Irish captivity and flight therefrom. Dr. MacNeill, unaccountably holding the two captivities recorded by the Saint to be one and the same (*viz.*, his sojourn with the companions of his flight), makes the phrase mean: "After long years of captivity I was made captive once more"; thus identifying the "many years" of this statement with the "few years" of the other; here again he disposes of a troublesome matter with the ingenuous observation: "We need not put too rigid an interpretation on the word 'many.'"

By an oversight (p. 109) it is implied that the conversion of the Franks (about 500 A. D.) was subsequent to the date of composition of Tirechan's *Memoirs* (about 680).

It is regrettable that some inadequate comments like that on St. Patrick's flight through Gaul, and that on the rejection of his episcopal candidature by the *seniores* of Auxerre, detract somewhat from this very commendable account of St. Patrick's life and labors.

JAMES VEALE.

Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md.

Peace by Revolution: An Interpretation of Mexico. By FRANK TANNENBAUM. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1933. Pp. 317. $3.50.)

This is probably one of the most objective studies of Mexico that has been written or is likely to be written for some time to come. Mexico today is still in a state of disorder and of government by force and violence as it was during most of the nineteenth century. It has not yet achieved political democracy. Yet there is evidence of a serious approach toward bringing order out of chaos. Much is made of the fact that Mexico's labor code, laid down in Article 123 of the Constitution of 1917, antedated the Russian Revolution and the International Labor Organization, and that the labor legislation of 1931 is probably the most elaborate code of labor in existence. It should be kept in mind that Mexico is a country the main problems of which are, and are likely to remain, agrarian and not industrial. It is interesting to note that when the project was first drawn up under Carranza, among those specifically mentioned whose ideas had been drawn upon, was Monsignor John A. Ryan. The book does not touch on the very serious conflict going on between the State and the Church at this moment even in the chapters on education at the end. It does not treat of the socialistic and communistic program of the Mexican government or of the destruction of the religious ideals of a fundamentally religious people.

If one were to listen to and judge from the indictment and criticism which has been loudest since 1926, one would conclude that the Church is today and all along has been the great enemy of the Mexican people, the chief barrier to their attainment of political and economic freedom, and that from the Church has flown all the evils which brought about and justified the Revolution and the Constitution of 1917. These pages tell a very different story. Not even may it be said, in the light of the evidence here set forth, that the conduct of the Church was the primary cause of the upheavals which produced the Constitution of 1857. This writer does not, as so many others have done, lay the responsibility for the chaos which followed independence upon the back of the Catholic Church.

Iturbide "initiated the political technique of Mexico: the way to power is by violence. Perhaps no treason to Mexico has had more direful consequence. It was the beginning of a history that has been smeared by blood and filled with treachery and revolution, for no aim but power, no cause but political status." That is characteristic of Mexican politics right down to 1932. There has grown in Mexico a military class, a constant drain on the public treasury and outside of public control or responsibility. After the passing of the Spanish governing class, there came a Mexican governing class, the *criollos*; then came the domination of the *mestizo*. Only by a third upheaval does the Indian seem to have any hope of justice.

The *haciendas*, the large estates, have persisted in Mexico. Revolution merely meant a change of masters. Even Carranza and Madero were great landowners. So despite revolutions, Mexico continues in the hands of military cliques and is covered with vast estates. In 1923, fewer than 2,700 persons out of a rural population of 11 million owned more than fifty per cent of private lands and something over 100 own about one-fourth of these. The agrarian problem lies in the breaking up of these large estates, the freeing of the Indian from land servitude and the liquidation of the Indian village which is a central unit of Mexican life. And today the problem is largely unsolved. The law of 1927 declared that all villages having twenty-five agrarian families could demand more land, but this limitation automatically excludes 46,000 out of possibly 60,000 rural communities. In 1930, less than 9,000 out of almost 26,000 villages with more than twenty families have profited from the law. According to this observer "ten years from now the agrarian problem will remain largely unsolved, in large areas the plantation system will be left intact, thousands of villages that still come within the law will be without land, and the position of the greater part of the rural population will not have materially improved as a result of the Revolution."

The writer, in three specific chapters, deals with the work of the Church in Mexico. The best way is to quote him, because these are not statements torn from their context but are complete explanatory summaries. We all recognize the relations between the Spanish crown, the colonial system, and the position of the Church in Mexico before and after the war of independence. There is no desire on the part of Catholics to shirk responsibility for what is written there. We can see, however, that the Church, as much as the Mexican people, was the victim of an outrageous system.

"Coming with the Conquest," states Mr. Tannenbaum, "the Church served that enterprise by exerting its influence to secure submission, obedience and acceptance of the new rulers. . . . The Crown frequently called the bishops and archbishops to serve it as chiefs of the civil power. The strength which the Crown derived from the prestige of the Church redounded to the benefit of the Church. The two institutions, one serving the interests of this world, the other of the next, found a common footing in conquering the Indian, converting him and civilizing him. . . ."

"Whatever his future, the Mexican Indian, looking back upon the history of his race, must count it a good fortune that the Catholic Church came with the Spanish conqueror. . . . The Catholic Church, representing as it did the non-material elements in the Conquest and the interests of the Spanish Crown as a Christian power, the priest representing as he did the spiritual aspiration of the Most Catholic Nation in Europe and the ideal interest of the Catholic Church, contributed in large measure to the development of those laws, practices, and attitudes which made possible the saving of the Indian as a race. That the Indian has a future in Mexico is in no small measure due to

the saving influence of the Catholic Church and the Catholic religion. . . . A community, a church, a law, a body of rights—all these were given to him, largely because he was considered a human being possessed of a soul and capable of redemption . . . men like Las Casas, Quiroga, Zumarraga and Fuenleal labored, fought, and defended the Indian against the rapacity of the white man, and in that defense initiated a series of currents, ideals, ideas, laws, and practices, within which the Indian has the more easily saved his race from extermination, and, by saving the race, has saved his genius for the world."

But unfortunately the Church, believing it the best way to secure all the good it had built up, tended to identify its interests (and the best interests of the people) with the interests of the crown. It thus lost the sympathy and incurred the enmity of the leaders of the revolutions. Not only that, but the crown more and more dominated the Church. It had to receive permission of the crown to build churches, hospitals, monasteries. The crown insisted on naming the bishops. The State retained the right to interfere in ecclesiastical conflicts. Thus when independence came all these assumed "rights" were presumed to have passed to the new state, including the estates, buildings, and income which had accrued to the Church in the course of time, and which were obviously a target for penniless revolutionary governments and individuals to whom polities was simply the way to wealth and power. The Church became an obstacle in the way of a new middle class, and so "the weakening of the power of the *criollos* and the rising power of the *mestizos* as politicians and intellectuals gave to the *mestizos* an ambition to emulate their previous masters by becoming landowners through acquiring the properties of the Church. Personal interest and moral idealism found a common basis in the attack upon the church. The ends of freedom, liberty and justice, as well as the enrichment of the new class which had come upon the scene of power and influence in Mexico, were served by the spoliation of the Church."

One can gather from the book generally the idea that the Church, though greatly weakened and helpless under present conditions and while the domination of the present classes remains, has, nevertheless, considering its history and the foundations it originally laid down during the Spanish conquest, a very important part to play in the future of the Mexican people and the upbuilding of a genuine democracy.

ELIZABETH B. SWEENEY.

National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Church and State in Latin America. By J. Lloyd Mecham, Ph. D. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1934. Pp. 550. $4.50.)

The question of Church and State in the complex history of Latin America is one so vast that it can hardly be treated adequately in the pages of a single volume. The relationship of Church to State in the colonial system of Spain was not only an intimate relationship, it was above all a living progressive relationship. In the entire history of the colonial period covering three centuries it would be difficult to find a single event of historical importance in which both Church and State and their interrelationship are not involved. In spite of the intimacy of the relationship existing between them, the Church and the State preserved to an astonishing degree their independence of action each in its proper field. In spite of the length of the period, three centuries, in spite of the number and diversity of the colonial peoples and governments and their respective interests, the conflicts arising between ecclesiastical and civil governments of sufficient significance to be recorded in history are surprisingly few in number.

The spiritual conquest of the Indian during the first seventy-five years of the colonial period constitutes an epic in the history of the Church. Under the Hapsburg dynasty the State and its agents, for the most part, shared with the missionaries their zeal for the conversion of the Indians. True, under the Bourbon kings the centralizing process affected conditions in America as it did in Spain, the exercise of *real patronato* (royal control over ecclesiastical benefices) became an onerous burden for the Church, but it is a sordid perversion of history to sum up the story as does Dr. Mecham in the statement:

> The king was amply compensated for the obligations and responsibilities he assumed with reference to the Church. . . . Undoubtedly the blind obedience and almost fanatical reverence of the colonials for their "most Catholic Sovereigns" were largely the result of clerical promptings. This was most ample compensation for the cares and expense of propagating the faith.

To the author of this volume the whole story is to be told by a cursory account of the controversy between regalists and canonists concerning the origin and nature of the authority exercised by the State under the *real patronato* in ecclesiastical affairs.

Dr. Mecham seems to find more that interests him in the controversies that have arisen since independence concerning political policies and programs affecting the Church than in the facts that have promoted or retarded the cultural and social progress of the people.

The contribution made by Dr. Mecham to the literature on an important subject is valuable to the extent that it centralizes much information con-

cerning controversies that have arisen. It is all but valueless as a contribution to the history or analysis of the relationship between Church and State as a factor in the lives of the Latin American nations.

JOHN J. BURKE, C. S. P.

Washington, D. C.

France and the Establishment of the American Catholic Hierarchy: The Myth of French Interference. By JULES A. BAISNÉE. [Institut Français de Washington.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1934. Pp. ix, 182. $2.50.)

The subtitle of the book under review indicates its thesis. Its plan and scope include chapters on the Roman, American, and French backgrounds of the establishment of the hierarchy in the United States; on the Roman initiative, French cooperation, Roman decision and American reaction in the affair; and a final one on the myth of French interference, in which a summary attempt is made to expose and refute prominent American Catholic historians who have made the thesis of French interference widely current in the past fifty years.

The book reprints all the available or known pertinent sources, to which it adds two documents hitherto unused. The method followed by the author is expressed by him in the preface as follows: "The account of this episode [establishment of the American hierarchy] in Franco-American relations is based solely on contemporary evidence and supported by documents at the end of each chapter; indeed many pages of the narrative are merely transcriptions of these documents which speak for themselves and contain first-hand information regarding the negotiations by the men who conducted them" (p. 5).

From the foregoing procedure the author has concluded that the thesis of French interference is purely imaginary and "that France showed only a generous and disinterested cooperation with the Holy See and the American representative in trying to provide for the needs of the Church in the land she had been the first to befriend and recognize as an independent nation" (p. 4).

In books dealing with the subject, because of its comparatively recent happening and because of a certain literary paucity about it, perhaps the inclusion of so much raw material is desirable, but to some this is a drawback on account of the apparent indigestion it gives the present book. It certainly renders the task of a reviewer difficult, if for no other reason than the imperative need for him to interpret the documents. While the Rev. Dr. Baisnée declares that the documents speak for themselves, he is fully aware that this is a manner of speech which requires an interpreter. How true this is may be seen from the fact that all

parties engaged are in direct opposition over the meaning of the same documents.

Has Dr. Baisnée succeeded in his interpretation? Some room for debate remains about his extreme position which holds that French interference was purely imaginary and that France showed only a generous and disinterested cooperation, but it is reasonably probable that he has made the extreme position held by the opposition untenable. In other words, both sides will have to meet on a middle ground and there decide on some more adequate phraseology with which to characterize the Franco-American Catholic episode of 1783-1784. Perhaps all the trouble has arisen because both sides have been either too realistic or too romantic in their interpretation of an affair that was in itself a mere diplomatic routine. A dissertation on diplomacy would be helpful to clarify the foregoing. In this place a brief mention of political diplomacy should demonstrate its incompatibility with the ordinary significance attached to words like generosity, disinterested cooperation, or whatnot associated with honor or justice. The unique object of politics was aggrandisement or some immediate interest. Such being the object of politics, rules of conduct change with circumstances. All ministers or diplomats were like chameleons, changing their views, maxims and political hair-splitting with the needs of the time and occasion and with the demands of the peculiar conditions of nations and persons. All their means and efforts were bent towards one end: not to be fooled but to fool others. The French negotiations in the case under trial do not form any exception to the general rule, and so to attribute generosity or disinterestedness to them would be a mistake. John Gilmary Shea, who stigmatized the negotiations as an attempt to enslave the infant American church, judged them according to a definite moral code. The indignation of others who cling to his spirit of denunciation, if not his words, is also colored with a Catholic point of view.

While no brief can be entertained to comfort the ultra-pagan spirit of diplomacy as then practised, it is believed that a word like intrigue, without all its possible moral implications, may suffice to characterize the negotiations of the French authorities in the affair under consideration. No doubt it can be rightly affirmed that Count Vergennes was the most honest of the diplomats of his day, but he lived in a political world of rogues and skeptics and had to make a go of it with them. So when he is accused of versatility and duplicity in diplomatic affairs, some discounting may be done owing to the political customs of the time. In some such way the word intrigue, used in reference to the Franco-American Catholic relationship of 1783-1784, may be toned down.

Not infrequently Dr. Baisnée apparently rests too heavily on slight support. As an example (p. 22) of this, he quotes with satisfaction and without qualification, the declaration of the Holy See regarding "the

efficacy of the protection that the King of France has given to religion when similar treaties of peace [Ryswick, 1697; Paris, 1763] were to be concluded." It must be remembered that here and elsewhere the Holy See used diplomatic language. Historians are familiar with the unsatisfactory religious provisions in the Treaty of Paris, and know that the provisions only partially revealed the genuine spirit and intentions of the British in the matter.

No argument about lofty aims or highmindedness may be built from the fact that the Holy See and Fathers Carroll and Thorpe employed or advised French mediation, from time to time. All the evidence points to expediency. The great Catholic powers had crippled missionary effort by a monopoly, which the establishment of Propaganda was calculated to break, but did not, and so Rome and others were forced to recognize this fact. When the Jesuits were under a secular bann in the various Catholic countries, the initiative for their suppression by the Church was engineered by France, and so it is misleading to write that "under pressure of the European Catholic Powers led by Pombal, the prime minister of Portugal, Pope Clement XIV had sacrificed the Jesuits and suppressed their Society" (p. 12).

The suppression of the Jesuits was a final blow to the missions. At the time of the Franco-Roman conferences there is some reason to think that the same anti-clerical spirit was present which is believed by some historians to have sacrificed Canada on account of the hatred of Jesuits, and because they were so successful and dominant in that country. So it is believed that negotiations were routine affairs and had nothing to do with trust, honor, or friendship in the ordinary sense of the terms, but might permit their use in a diplomatic meaning. No matter how interesting Dr. Baisnée's speculation may be in his interpretation of the American ex-Jesuits' attitude towards Propaganda as a foreign intruder and as greedy for their property, the American Fathers had a real confiscatory power to deal with when treating with France. All the Fathers had to do was to recall the recent violent confiscations and arrests at Kaskaskia and Vincennes.

Without being too sure of a judgment in the matter, the reviewer cannot discover a justifiable motive and objective for the inclusion of so much irrelevant material on the Jesuits in a thesis which could have very well investigated more fully the charges of the English Jesuits about French intrigue. To dispose of this charge, Dr. Baisnée affirms that Plowden (p. 176) had no first-hand information of the nature of the negotiation but he introduces no evidence to make the deposition effective. To his personal venture might be opposed the well-known indoor and outdoor sport of those days which respected no mail. It is no more venturesome to think that Franklin wrote on the matter and that his

letters were opened similarly as his other letters often were. Back in that time secrecy was rather an open affair. The real problem of the documents revolves around Franklin's recommendation of a French ecclesiastic to head the American religious organization, and includes the abrupt change of all parties in favor of an American to head it. Dr. Baisnée ascribes the first to the fertile brain of Franklin and the latter to the information arriving from America. Without being able to bring the fullest support of the documents into play in a review such as this, content must be found in referring to one or two places which may indicate French pressure on Franklin. Franklin's proposal to confiscate the four English Benedictine monasteries in France for the purpose of securing a foundation to educate clerics who would be used in America, points so surely to a pet idea of Talleyrand, that some justification is discovered in ascribing this feature to him rather than the American minister. Talleyrand's advice was sought by Vergennes and a pertinent quotation is found in his observation on Franklin's plan, which he penned for Vergennes on December 15, 1783. In the last paragraph of the observation Talleyrand tells Vergennes that it is very important to adapt the plan of Rome to the views of Franklin. If Franklin depended upon Talleyrand, it can be seen that the latter was pulling the wires in the background.

Without minimizing the effect of adequate information concerning American Catholics and of the advice of the French ministers to the United States on the change of Franklin, there is some reason for thinking that the ascendancy in December, 1783, of the younger Pitt to English political control, may have effected the change, due to French pressure. With him, official English attitudes towards France changed, which were reciprocated by the French. The elder Pitt and Choiseul, former ministers, perhaps turned in their graves at the new turn of events, but a new politics was in the air. The Peace Treaty of 1783 was really a preliminary to the Franco-English commercial treaty of 1786. Franklin's argument in 1783 to the Nuncio in Paris that the appointment of a French ecclesiastic, resident in France, was desirable for many political reasons, could easily have been upset within the first months of 1784, when the younger Pitt's foreign policies became known.

Just when Vergennes gave up his carrying out the foreign political ambition of Choiseul, which involved humiliating England at any cost, can not be determined here but it is known that he formulated the celebrated home frontier politics, which was to be so brilliantly carried out by his disciple Talleyrand. Following Pitt, Vergennes was one of the first ministers to realize that a thoroughgoing domestic and internal policy was much more important than the foreign politics in vogue at the time. Dr. Baisnée skillfully brings into high relief the plan to educate Americans in France at French expense. Without trying to belittle the

French offers, it is deemed necessary to point out that politics dominated the issue.

That Talleyrand who had the key to the situation was held by political conditions is apparent in this excerpt from a letter of the Nuncio to the Propaganda August 23, 1784: "I do not allow myself to hope that he [Talleyrand] will be willing to establish a fixed fund, because it is not certain that, as time goes on, the American Republic will continue to be grateful for the signal favors and services of France, and that revolutions will not occur, similar to that of Canada."

In the same letter occurs a sentence which not only labels the transactions referring to French aid in training clerics for America, but is a trade-mark for all the negotiations of 1783-1784. Immediately after the foregoing quotation the Nuncio declared: "It is necessary to accept with pleasure what may be obtained, and to be content with it, and to leave the future to what it will please God to dispose." This latter sentence with its antecedent puts another light on what Dr. Baisnée calls Roman initiative and French cooperation, and is a warning that a contemporary goose-step diplomacy marked every step of the negotiations.

Established historical theses that Franklin and Talleyrand never acted in a disinterested manner make it difficult to divorce the negotiations from the negotiators. A study of Vergennes will not whitewash his diplomatic doings. So eminent an historian as M. Bernard Faÿ puts him in the same boat with Franklin and Lord Shelbourne, all three being responsible for the peace of 1783, than which none on record was negotiated with more dignity and rascality. Without putting the burden of a cynical diplomatic system upon France, it may be in order to point out that France like other countries entertained no particular sensitiveness about interfering in the religious affairs of other peoples if self-determination entered the scene.

The Galliopolis enterprise is an example for the United States. Another example is exhibited in the instructions about anti-British propaganda sent to General James Murray, Governor of Canada, in the August of 1763. He was warned to watch the political activities of the Canadian Catholic clergy, who according to British information were being mobilized by the French authorities to carry on for France. It was for this reason that Great Britain, while giving tolerance to Canadian Catholics to practise their faith in 1763, gave no guarantees on the subject of Catholic episcopal organization.

In his book Dr. Baisnée attempts to make the problem too simple. He should have at least intimated that diplomatic correspondence needs special diligence for an approximate interpretation.

Students will be grateful to Dr. Baisnée for bringing up the question of American Catholic hierarchical beginnings. Perhaps some professional

historian will meet their needs by authentication of the Fish Transcripts, which were not collated with the originals, and thereby also give the Devitt Translations greater value. The reviewer wonders whether English archives and a thoroughgoing study of Franklin's correspondence might not throw fuller light on the subject.

PETER LEO JOHNSON.

St. Francis Seminary.

A History of the Catholic Church for the use of Colleges, Seminaries and Universities. By Dom CHARLES POULET, Benedictine Monk of the Congregation of Solesmes. Authorized Translation and Adaptation from the fourth French Edition by the Rev. Sidney A. Raemers, M. A., Ph. D. Volume I: *The Ancient Church; The Middle Ages; The Beginnings of the Modern Period.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company. 1934. Pp. xxxiv, 769. $5.00.)

The need for a modern up-to-date textbook in Church History is even more imperative in America, and English-speaking countries generally, than in France and Germany whence have hailed our best-known textbooks in this line. Dom Poulet's work in two volumes, first published in 1926, reached its fourth edition in 1930. The first volume of Raemer's translation and adaptation now lies before us. It comes to us with all sorts of introductions: Author's Preface, Author's Note to the Fourth Edition, Author's Note to the English Translation, Translator's Preface, Foreword by Brother Leo, and Introduction by Professor R. H. Lord. The text proper, covering 722 pages of a goodly sized volume, is followed by chronological charts from the second to the fifteenth century, century by century, a chart of the ecumenical councils, chronological tables and, fortunately, by an alphabetical index to the first volume. Very readable, beautifully printed, a credit to the publishers who claim to have spared "no labor and expense in editing this classical work in English," the work is bound to make friends not only among the students of our colleges, seminaries and universities, for whom it seems to be primarily intended, but also among the priests and religious of all ages and — let us hope — also among our educated laity.

A feature sure to strike those accustomed to older texts is the division of Church History. The author "sets aside as purely arbitrary all the classical divisions. The fall of Rome does not mark the end of Christian antiquity nor does that of Constantinople bring the Middle Ages to a close." The new division marks the chief breaks in the years 496, 1294, and 1789, respectively, the conversion of Clovis (496) ushering in the medieval period, the beginning of the reign of Boniface VIII (1294) opening the modern period, and the beginning of the French Revolution

(1789) beginning also contemporary history. The Protestant Revolution thus occupies, roughly speaking, a central position in the modern period as the most striking series of facts in a larger evolution. We need not quarrel with this new division, for the simple reason that every division of history is more or less arbitrary, chiefly intended as an aid to memory, marking indeed important changes either in policy or in social institutions or in the general mental and moral outlook of the people, but not breaking thereby that necessary connection of cause and effect which links together period to period and makes history a continuity wherein long-prepared changes that appear suddenly have been slowly maturing, perhaps for generations, perhaps for centuries.

In this connection the author also criticises older textbooks, recognizing in German texts "sound critical sense" and "authentic information," in French texts "scholarliness and a precise method," but blaming the former for being "desperately dry," "analytic-genetic rather than synthetic in method" and "bulky," and the latter for their "provincialism." He continues: "There is a better pedagogical method than these. It follows the chronological order and endeavors to give comprehensive views of periods not exceeding a span of fifty years." In carrying out this plan, the author conforms as nearly as possible to the century line as a main minor division, the obvious disadvantages of this method being partly remedied by the fact that he allows himself not a little latitude in fixing this century line. Yet, when of the two great Latin Doctors whose deaths occurred within ten years, St. Jerome (d. 420) is placed within the fourth century and St. Augustine within the fifth (d. 430), we cannot but regret the sway of a too rigid method. To my mind the death of St. Augustine is more than the death of a man; it marks the end of the first golden age of the Christian Church, golden despite of, and partly because of, the heresies which kept the fourth century in an almost continuous turmoil.

The translator writes: "We have made bold to introduce a number of changes in the English translation, which is really more an adaptation than a literal version. Thus we have, especially in the second volume, eliminated a great deal of material that would be of interest only to a European student and at times only a student in attendance at a French seminary or university. In place of this material we have inserted chapters dealing with questions with which American and English students should be more familiar. Hence, in the first volume, we have made place for a chapter on 'The Beginnings of Christianity in Ireland' and in the second for additional chapters on 'The Reformation in Ireland,' 'The Catholic Church in the United States,' 'The Catholic Church in Canada,' 'The Church in Scotland,' etc." This prospectus makes us look forward with great interest for the appearance of the second volume.

Again: "The translator would be extremely grateful to professors and

instructors of Church History if they would forward him their criticisms, so that mistakes and omissions may be rectified in future editions. No work is perfect, and the translator is far from entertaining the idea that this work is an exception to the rule." It is, of course, impossible in this review to offer a detailed criticism of a work that deals with the history of the Church from its beginning to the beginning of the Reformation. Excellent as it is, it cannot escape the imperfections almost inherent to any summary of history, nor does it escape all the imperfections of a translation. The extensive bibliography, admirably arranged, is chiefly valuable to students acquainted with, and having access to, French writings. Even the additions of the translator, often without date of publication, do not remedy this defect. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* is too seldom utilized. Some of the more common names, fortunately few, look strange to us in their French dress. There is no justification for "Abailard" (Abelard) and "Arnauld of Brescia" (Arnold). Louis le Debonnaire (p. 389) will hardly be recognized for Louis the Pious of p. 356. The most glaring example is the use of Denis for Dionysius, Denis of Alexandria, Denis of Rome, while for others of the same name the ancient form is preserved. Other examples are Didier (p. 334) for Desiderius, Guy for Guido, Lothaire for Lothar or Lotharius. We note also Wicliffe and Wycliffism.

Some historical inaccuracies could be pointed out. There seems to me also a tendency to gloss over some of the darker facts of history. It is always best to learn such facts from Catholic sources. The Church without spot or wrinkle is not of this world. On page 105 there is a serious mistranslation in the answer of Pope Stephen to St. Cyprian: "There is no need of investigating the person of the one baptized" should be: "There is no need of investigating the person of the one who baptizes." Besides, what is given here as a continuous excerpt from a letter of St. Stephen is a reconstruction of several passages taken from the letters of St. Cyprian and Firmilian, and purporting to be taken from the Pope's reply. In spite of these and other defects the work deserves our heartiest support.

A. Bellwald, S. M.

Marist Seminary, Washington, D. C.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

On March seventh, Dr. Peter Guilday, one of the editors of this REVIEW, was invested with the robes of a prelate of the household of Pius XI by the Most Reverend James Hugh Ryan, S. T. D., Rector of The Catholic University of America. The papal brief, conferring this distinction on Monsignor Guilday, says in part:

"Beloved Son, Greeting and Apostolic blessing: A Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, the Archbishop of Philadelphia, asks Us to bestow upon you, Professor of Church History in The Catholic University of America, a signal honor and dignity in recognition of your scientific attainments as shown in the works on history which you have published and which have won, on all sides, the highest appreciation of your productive scholarship."

At the December meeting of the Executive Council of the ASSOCIATION, the Rev. Lawrence Kent Patterson, S. J., was elected to the Advisory Board of Editors of the REVIEW, to fill the vacancy caused by the appointment of Father Gerald Walsh, S. J., to the chair of ecclesiastical history in the Gregorian University, Rome. Father Patterson, who is well known to readers of these pages, the *Catholic Mind*, *America*, the *Historical Bulletin* and other periodicals, made his undergraduate studies at St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, at Woodstock, Md., and at Ignatius Kolleg, Valkenberg, Holland. After ordination he studied at Cambridge, England, receiving his M. A. with honors in 1932. He taught Modern European History at Fordham University, and is now professor of Church History, Woodstock.

Mr. Arthur Preuss, publicist, writer, and for over forty years editor of a lively periodical known in more recent years as the *Fortnightly Review* (St. Louis, Mo.), died December 16, 1934, aged 63. Historical students will find the files of his review a rich storehouse of information, especially on the controversial issues of the last decades of the nineteenth century—the parochial school and the Faribault plan, the language question in schools and churches, Cahenslyism, Americanism in all its phases, the Father McGlynn case, etc. The *Fortnightly*, it is announced, will not be continued.

Father Henry Spalding, S. J., author of *Catholic Colonial Maryland*, died December 27, at the age of 69.

Under the joint auspices of Princeton University and the American Council of Learned Societies, a summer seminar in Arabic and Islamic studies will be conducted at Princeton, June 20–July 31, 1935. The courses are designed to meet the needs of historians of Europe and the Far East, of medievalists, Byzantinists, historians of the fine arts and of science, students of philosophy and religion, and others who have felt the need of acquiring some competence in the Arabic Islamic phases of their respective subjects. Requests for further information respecting courses, etc., may be addressed to Professor Philip K. Hitti, Princeton

University, under whose direction the seminar will be conducted; or to the American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C. A limited number of fellowships and grants-in-aid are available for specially recommended and qualified students; applicants for these should communicate with Professor Walter L. Wright, Jr., at Princeton University, before May 1.

The 26th International Congress of Americanists will be held at Seville, Spain, in October, 1935.

God and the Social Process, by Louis Wallis, is a study in Hebrew history (University of Chicago Press, pp. 392).

Bloud et Gay have announced the publication of a new *Histoire de l'Eglise*, a product of the pens of J. Lebreton and J. Zeiller. Volume one, *L'Eglise primitive* (480 pp.), appeared in December, 1934.

Philip Hughes' second volume of his *History of the Church*, covering the period 323-1293, will be ready in June (Sheed and Ward). Another offering from the same publishers is *Isabella the Crusader*, by William T. Walsh.

Volume V of Canon Boulenger's *Histoire générale de l'Eglise* appeared during January. This volume, containing forty-seven illustrations and five maps, and numbering five hundred fifty pages, is entitled *De Grégoire VII à Clément V (1073-1305)*. There will be nine volumes in the completed work; the publisher is E. Vitte (Paris).

Religious Thought in the Eighteenth Century, by John M. Creed and John S. B. Smith, is a study of the relevant literature of representative thinkers of the period (Cambridge University Press, pp. 301).

Pamphlet No. 14 of the Catholic Association for International Peace is *The Catholic Church and Peace Efforts* (pp. 63), by Dr. William F. Roemer, Dr. John T. Ellis, and the History Committee. Pamphlet No. 18 tells of *The Relations between France and Italy* (pp. 47), by Patrick J. Ward and the Europe Committee.

Church History for December gives an evaluation of Foxe's *Martyrs*, by Walter E. Bauer; an analysis of the Sources of Jefferson's Ecclesiastical Views, by Royden J. Nott; an exposition of Coleridge's Theory of the Church in the Social Order, by Cyril K. Gloyn; and an account of Joshua L. Wilson, Frontier Controversialist, by Raymond L. Hightower. The March issue prints Professor Frederick W. Loetscher's presidential address on St. Augustine's Conception of the State; and two papers read at the joint session of the Society with the American Historical Association and the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Washington, December 27: the American Colonial Environment and Religious Liberty, by Professor W. W. Sweet; and the Contribution of the Protestant Churches to Religious Liberty in Colonial America, by Professor Percy G. E. Miller.

Announcement has been made of the proposed new edition of the *Acta*

Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, the masterpiece of the scholarship of Mabillon. It has been said that the learned Maurist listed over fifty-thousand saints who had fought the battle of life under the Rule of St. Benedict. Nine volumes were published in the Paris and in the Venice editions; Mabillon had prepared the material for the tenth, which never came to light but which contains the lives of the saints of the seventh Benedictine century (the twelfth of the Christian era), such as St. Bernard, St. Hildegarde and others. This tenth volume will be published now for the first time; it will most certainly supply, especially in the case of St. Hildegarde, material intensely interesting in the history of science, for her scientific knowledge verges on, if it does not actually partake of, the miraculous. The new edition, from the press of Protat Frères, Macon, France, will be in folio, 16 by 10 inches, and will be published at the rate of one volume per year. An appendix will be added, giving a key to the sources, some new documents, a bibliography of the lives and iconography of the saints, and of the topography and archeology of their monasteries. The price will be 750 francs per volume. (F. A. WALSH.)

Two more of the great religious orders of the Church have been included in B. Grasset's collection of publications entitled "Les Grands Ordres monastiques." The first of these was *Les Jesuites* (360 pp.), by Gaëtan Bernoville, the second, *Les Dominicains,* by M. Davy.

From an unpaginated announcement, inserted in the *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum,* III (1933), by the Rev. A. Papillon, O. P., of the Historical Institute of the Dominican Order, at Rome, we learn that a complete revision of the *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* is now in progress and that the first fascicule will appear during the year 1936. The fascicules will consist of 64 pages or 128 columns, in quarto. In format, this revision will be a welcome improvement over the unwieldy folios of Quetif-Echard, who, after publishing two volumes, discontinued their labors in 1723. A third volume, begun in 1910 as a continuation and not yet completed, retained the original folio form. When its last fascicule appears (as it will this year), the work of Quetif-Echard will have been brought down to the middle of the eighteenth century. It will end there. Unlike the present edition, which treats of the writers of the Dominican Order and their works in chronological order, the revision will be arranged alphabetically by authors. It will contain accurate biographical notices of the writers of the Order and a list of their works, whether published or not, whether quite voluminous or mere *opuscula.* Known manuscripts and rare editions will be minutely described and libraries, especially public, will be cited where copies are to be found. It is sincerely to be hoped that nothing will interfere with the achievement of this enterprise. If it maintains the high scholarly standards of other publications of the Historical Institute of the Order of Preachers, it will fill a long-felt need. (B. W.)

The sixteenth annual edition, for 1935, of the *Almanach catholique français* (Bloud et Gay) put in an appearance with the New Year. As usual, the *Almanach* offers complete information on all phases of Catholic life and action in France, as well as a summary of the international activities of the Church.

An extremely important publication, particularly from the point of view of documentation, is Canon L. Mahieu's *Le Saint-Siège et les anciens Constitutionnels. Mgr. Louis Belinas, ancien évêque constitutionnel de l'Aude, évêque de Cambrai. Sa vie, son épiscopat. Le mouvement religieux dans le Nord durant cette période* (A. Picard). Published in two volumes, this work contains a most complete bibliography on the constitutional clergy and Church of France during the Revolution, the Directory, the Empire, the Restoration and the July Monarchy. Numerous documents published here are most valuable for a study of the internal organization of the French clergy and of their relations with Rome.

A small brochure published in December by Sirey (Paris) contains some interesting documents previously unprinted. The title of the brochure is descriptive of its contents: *Quelques textes normands des Decrétales de Gregoire IX. A l'occasion d'un VII^e centenaire.* The editor is P. Audrieu.

Volume II of John Viénot's *Histoire de la réforme française* bears the sub-title, *De l'Édit de Nantes à sa révocation, 1598-1685* (Paris, Fischbacher, pp. 670).

Jean Abhémar is the author of an interesting pamphlet entitled *Le Trésor d'argenterie donné par saint Didier aux églises d'Auxerre* (*VII^e siècle*). It was published by E. Leroux, Paris.

The Insight of the Curé d'Ars, by Canon Trochu, has been translated from the French by Maurice Leahy (Burns, Oates and Washbourne, pp. 216).

Two biographies which seem worthy of notice are *Marianna, la religieuse portugaise* (A. Michel), by Henry Bordeaux of the French Academy; and M. L. Amiet's *La Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc* (Nouvelles Edit. du Siècle).

The articles in the January issue of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* are: "Gerson à Bruges," with documents, by E. Van Steenberghe; and the first part of "Le martyre de la papaute (1769-1799)," a brilliant criticism and synopsis of Pastor's final volume, by P. Richard. There are also these notes: "Apropos de la prière de Pélage," by J. Coméliau, S. J.; "Les origines de la croisé d'ogives," by R. Maere; and "Une version inédite de la légende de sainte Wilgefortis ou Ontcommer," by J. Gessler.

Those following the Spanish crisis should not fail to read two outstanding articles dealing with the rising of October, 1934. Père Dudon, S. J., in *Les Études* of December 5, 1934, gives a masterly analysis of the causes of the rebellion. He pleads for "reform after repression" as the only

policy for Robles and the triumphant moderates. In *Foreign Affairs*, for January, Señor Araquistáin gives a detailed account of the abortive revolution. The author is somewhat anti-clerical, but his article is illuminating nevertheless.

Vol. XIII, ser. 2, of *Biblioteca Historica de la Biblioteca Balmes* (Barcelona) is *La Sue de Tarragona: Notes historiques sobre la Construccio, el Tresor, els Artistes, els Capitulars*, by Massèn Sanç Capdevila (pp. 192).

The *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* for February is devoted to the general subject of *Prägungen Germanischer Religiosität*. The following are the chief contributions: Germanische Religiosität, by Hermann Mandel; Urianisch-gotische Religiosität, by Edmund Weber; Die Frömmigkeit im Heliand, by Erich Bogelsang; Meister Eckharts deutsche Frömmigkeit, by Alois Dempf; Die Reformation als Ausdruck germanischer Religiosität, by Rudolf Merkel; Hamann, der "Magus des Nordens," by Hans Kern; Klassisch-romantische Religion, by Karl Obenauer; and Bismarcks Christentum, by Arnold Meyer.

The recent Saar plebiscite recalls the services rendered to our country during the dark days of the Revolutionary War by the ancestors of the people of that region. On the battlefield at Yorktown in 1781 there was fighting in the second or center division of Rochambeau's army side by side with the Irish a battalion of grenadiers from the Saar who were sent over by their temporal and spiritual ruler, the Archbishop and Elector of Trier, Clement Wenceslaus, Duke of Saxony. This contingent formed the Detachment du Regiment La Sarre which was incorporated into the Regiment Saintonge under the command of Colonel Adam Philip Count de Custine de Lorraine. On the return from Yorktown Count de Custine with his officers was invited to dinner by Mrs. Martha Washington. He accepted the invitation and, with ten of his officers, took dinner at Mount Vernon on July 18, 1782. He had sent before him a valuable present consisting of a set of ehina, coming from his own manufactory at Niederweiler, near Pfalzburg, in Lorraine. It was ornamented with the coat-of-arms and initials of General George Washington, and was received by Mrs. Washington with most hearty thanks. (J. M. L.)

The sixth volume of *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Leipzig, 1934) covers the titles, Caballus-Confessione (nn. 5832-7377) and describes, among others, 57 editions of Latin and Italian sermons of Bishop Robert Caraccioli, 135 editions of Disticha Catonis, the famous textbook of medieval moral teaching; 9 editions of Chaucer's works, 316 editions of Cicero's works, 41 editions of the Clementinae, and 9 editions of Columbus's *Letter* on the discovery of America. This letter was written on February 18, 1493, and was printed in 1493 in two Spanish and six Latin editions. In 1497 a German translation appeared in print at Strassburg. One Spanish edition which is completely lost is not counted. The Latin

editions were printed at Rome (3 editions), Basel, Paris, and Antwerp. New York Public Library preserves copies of six editions. The Spanish edition printed by the Catholic priest, Pedro Posa, is preserved in only one copy which is now treasured by New York Public Library. The second Spanish edition is likewise preserved only in one copy now kept in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The Latin edition issued at Antwerp is likewise preserved in only one copy at Bruxelles. Finally 84 editions of *Confessionalia* are described, manuals both for confessors and penitents.

Intorno al "Clemente XIV" del Barone von Pastor is an illuminating brochure by Guglielmo Kratz, S. J., and Pietro Leturia, S. J. (Rome, Desclée E. C. Editori Pontifici, pp. 97).

No. 67 of the Historical Series of the University of Manchester is *The Italian Problem in European Diplomacy, 1847-1849,* by A. J. P. Taylor (pp. 252).

Vatican Diplomacy in the World War, by Humphrey Johnson, with introduction by Count de Sales, British minister to the Holy See when Benedict XV's Peace Note was received, is a study drawn "from all available sources" (Blackwell).

The Legal Position of the Holy See before and after the Lateran Agreements is the title of a valuable pamphlet, issued by the Oxford University Press (pp. 46, $1.00), containing two lectures delivered in the University of Oxford by Professor Mario Falco. The translations are by A. H. Campbell.

The vast and apparently complete publication of the Russian official documents bearing upon the outbreak and history of the World War is beginning to appear in German translation under the title: *Die internationalen Beziehungen im Zeitalter des Imperialismus. Dokumente aus den Archiven der Zarischen und der Provisorischen Regierung, hrsg. von der Kommission beim Zentralexekutivkomitee der Sowjetregierung unter dem Vorsitz von M. N. Pokrowski. Einzig berechtigte deutsche Ausgabe, Namens der Deutschen Gesellschaft zum Studium Osteuropas hrsg. von Otto Hoetzsch. Reihe I. Das Jahr 1914 bis zum Kriegsausbruch, I-V Bde.,* Berlin, 1931-34. *Reihe II. Vom Kriegsausbruch bis zum Herbst 1915. Bd. VI.* (Aug. 5, 1914-Nov. 1, 1914), Berlin, 1934. Interesting in many respects as these documents are, they do not seem to change materially the status of the question of Russia's responsibility for the outbreak of the conflict. (R. H. L.)

Arnold Lunn's *Saint in the Slave Trade* is the story of St. Peter Claver (Sheed and Ward, pp. 288).

Vol. III of the *Collected Papers of Thomas Frederick Tout* contains Professor Tout's lectures on medieval topics (Cambridge University Press, pp. 285).

In connection with the canonization of Cardinal Fisher and Chancellor

More an important volume of official documents has been published under the auspices of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. This *Positio pro Canonizatione impetranda* (Roma, Typis Guerra et Belli, Via Milano, 30, 1934) contains among other things the *Informatio Causae Advocati*, which includes, besides the synopses of the lives of the two saints, a discussion of the so-called "equipollent canonization"; the official account of the trial and condemnation of the saints, originally found in the Treasury of the Court of King's Bench, and here edited by the lamented Dom Quentin; the text and notes of Constant's *La Réforme en Angleterre* in so far as this deals with Fisher and More, in all no less than eighty-six pages; an interesting collection of the testimony of historians of various faiths, times and countries to the character and cause of death of the cardinal and the chancellor, prepared by Father Joseph Grisar, S. J., professor in the Faculty of Ecclesiastical History in the Gregorian University; a great number of *Litterae Postulatoriae* sent in from many parts of the world; and finally a *Disquisitio* by Msgr. Salvator Natucci. (G. G. W.)

Edward Stuart Talbot and Charles Gore, by Albert Mansbridge, presents the story of two great churchmen (London, Dent).

The Birbeck Lectures delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, last year, have been published as *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century*, by Norman Sykes (Cambridge University Press, pp. 445).

The Catholic Truth Society's series of Studies in Comparative Religion is nearing completion. Recent additions are: *The Religion of Earliest Man*, and the *Religion of Later Primitive Peoples*, both by Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S. V. D.; *Buddhism*, by Prof. L. de la Vallée Poussin; the *Religion of Ancient Persia*, by Prof. A. Carnoy; *Islam*, by the Rev. A. Vincent; *Spiritualism*, by the Rev. Henry Thurston, S. J.; *Christian Science*, by the same author; *Presbyterianism*, by Dr. Orchard; *Gnosticism, Marcionism, and Manichaeism*, by the Rev. J. Lebreton, S. J.; and *Communism and Religion*, by the Rev. Lewis Watt, S. J. Other pamphlets recently issued include: *The Sites of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection*, by Ernest T. Richmond; *St. Louise de Marillac*, co-foundress of the Sisters of Charity; *Blessed John Fisher*, by Noel M. Wilby; and *Blessed John Kemble*, by J. H. Canning.

Supplement No. 5 of the November issue of the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research is a *Guide to the Historical Publications of the Societies of England and Wales*, compiled by Guy and Zirphie Parsloe.

To the December number of *Studies* Mary M. Macken contributes a study of Wallenstein and Butler, 1634-1934; Dr. Richard J. Purcell reviews the deeds of Capt. John Barry of the American Revolution; Mary Ryan writes on the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart and its Founders; and R. Dudley Edwards relates the story of Venerable John Travers and the Rebellion of Silken Thomas.

A new edition of George Goyau's well-known work, *Les Origines religieuses du Canada,* was announced in January by Editions Spes (Paris). The new edition is completely revised and brought up to date.

Pleasing to all students is the announcement that the *Catholic Periodical Index,* which was suspended for lack of funds after the volumes for 1930 and 1931 had appeared, will be issued in the near future to cover, in a single volume, the four-year period 1930-1933.

At the 28th annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, to be held at Cincinnati, April 25-27, Father Raymond Corrigan, S. J., will read a paper on Catholic Mission Aid Societies.

Father Francis S. Betten, S. J., head librarian of Marquette University, has compiled for the use of graduate students in medieval history what he calls a "Neighborhood List" of available bibliographies, source-collections and modern works in some twenty-odd libraries within easy distance of Milwaukee. The list has been carefully made and will undoubtedly be of great service to beginners as well as to advanced scholars.

The *Bulletin de l'Institut Français de Washington* (No. 7, December, 1934) prints two letters from Father Gabriel Richard, dated Baltimore, July 7, 1792, and Washington, January 9, 1824, which furnish fresh data on our early Catholic history.

Volume IV, No. 2, of the Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference continues the study of the *Mayawyaw Ritual,* Francis Lambrecht, C. I. C. M., writing on *Marriage and Marriage Ritual* (pp. 169-325).

The Chicago Historical Society has issued the first number of its quarterly *Bulletin* which is "designed to promote the interests of the Society as a whole, but with particular reference to the library and its collections." The contents include documents, editorials, bibliography, etc.

Announcement is made that *Mid-America* will hereafter be published by Loyola University, Chicago, under the managing editorship of Jerome V. Jacobsen. In the January issue W. Eugene Shiels discusses the Frontier Hypothesis and the work of the missionaries as a corollary; Thomas F. O'Connor writes on the Onondaga Mission; Sister Grace McDonald, O. S. B., recalls the work of a Catholic Newspaper Woman and Novelist of the Pioneer West, Julia Amanda Sargent Wood ("Minnie Mary Lee"); and Father Gilbert J. Garraghan's address before the alumni of Loyola University, on George Washington, Man of Character, is preserved.

The January and March issues of the *Historical Bulletin* cover the following topics: The Development of British Imperial Theory, by Herbert H. Coulson; the Old in the New Deal, by Dr. Paul G. Steinbicker; the Benevolent Despots, I, II, by Lawrence K. Patterson, S. J.; a selective bibliography of the Church in Mid-America, I, II, by Thomas F.

O'Connor; Golden Years on the Paraguay, by J. Manuel Espinosa; a guide to Latin-American Texts, by Dominic de la Salandra; the Martyrs of the Reductions, by Dr. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J.; and European Unity, by Raymond Corrigan, S. J.

Pioneer Padre: the Life and Times of Eusebio Francisco Kino, by Professor Rufus Kay Wyllys, is announced by the Southwest Press, Dallas, Tex. (pp. 242).

The bibliographical section of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* for February lists Some Studies in Progress in Spain on Hispanic American Colonial History, by Lewis Hanke; Recent Publications in Hispanic America and Europe, by Percy A. Martin; and Mexico in United States and British Periodicals, by Rafael H. Valle.

The Quivira Society, organized in 1929 for the purpose of publishing English translations of original Spanish documents pertaining to the early history of the southwestern part of the United States and of northern Mexico, announces volume V of its series, *Diary of the Alarcón Expedition into Mexico, 1718-1719, by Fray Francisco de Céliz,* edited by Fritz L. Hoffman, of the University of Texas.

Professor Henry Grattan Doyle, the George Washington University, has published a *Tentative Bibliography of the Belles-Lettres of Panama* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, pp. 21).

Anniversaries: 25th: Annunciation parish, Cincinnati (historical account in *Catholic Telegraph,* Jan. 31); founding of Diocese of Toledo, Ohio. *50th:* St. Procopius Abbey, Lisle, Ill.; St. Paul the Apostle, New York; Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Clayfield, Minn.; St. Francis de Sales, St. Paul, Minn. *75th:* St. Joseph's, Bonneauville, Pa. (historical note in *Gettysburg Times,* Mar. 18); Church of the Ascension, Norwood, Minn.; St. Bonifacius', Mound, Minn.; St. Joseph's, Medicine Lake, Minn.; St. Patrick's, Richmond, Va. *750th:* Cathedral of Modena, Italy.

Documents: Nous documents sobre Ramon Lull i la seva Escole (Martí de Barcelona, O. M. Cap., *Estudis Franciscans,* July-December); Obedientary and other Accounts of Battle Abbey in the Huntington Library (Eleanor Swift, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* November); Diario del P. Francisco Hermosa de San Bueneventura, misionero en Cochinchina, 1744-1768 (Lorenzo Pérez, O. F. M., *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* January-April); Letters to Bishop Henni (continued) (Peter L. Johnson, *Salesianum,* January); Letters of Father Franz Pierz, Pioneer Missioner (concluded) (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice,* January); Five Years in America (*Father Gachet's Journal,* 1859, continued), (*Wisconsin Magazine of History,* December).

BRIEF NOTICES

Actes de S. S. Pie XI. Tome V: *Année 1929–1er semestre.* (Paris, Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1934, pp. 275.) The fifth volume of the acts, encyclicals, *Motu proprio*, briefs, etc. of the present Holy Father. All students of dogmatic and social questions will find this volume like the preceding ones of this series a great asset. It is in this volume that the "Decretum de spirituali administratione Ordinariatum graeco-ruthenorum in Foederatis Civitatibus Americae septentrionalis" is published, with the Latin and French translation. Students of history will find the text of the treaty between the Vatican and the Italian Government published with the Italian and French translation. (LEON BAISIER.)

BAUR, Dr. P. CHRYSOSTOMUS, O. S. B., *Im Christlichen Orient.* (Benediktiner Abtei, Seckau in Steiermark, 1934, pp. 240.) What the author of this book of travel intended, information and entertainment, he certainly achieved to a marked degree. He relates his own experiences in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, and Greece, the lands through which he passed and with whose people he came in close touch in 1932. The narrative is written in a light vein, with a fine sense of humour throughout, and it contains at the same time many an illuminating sidelight on the social and economic conditions in the Orient. The volume is profusely illustrated with reproductions of photographs taken by the author during his tour. (F. B. S.)

BOHLER, LÉONARD, O. F. M., *Soeur Marie-Agnès (1902-1931).* (Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1934, pp. xii, 95, 5 francs.) This short biography of Sister Mary Agnes, a Franciscan Sister of our Lady of the Temple, is written for the consolation of her family and especially of her mother, Mme. Foucher. The author relates her childhood, quotes excerpts from letters to her family and friends and describes the joys and noble ambitions of this simple and energetic servant of God. An account of the congregation of which Sister Mary Agnes was a member and its scope, which is the service of priests, is given in the appendix. (P. A. BARRETTE.)

BROWN, STEPHEN J., S. J., *An Introduction to Catholic Booklore.* [Catholic Bibliographical Series, No. 4.] (London, Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd., 1933, pp. vi, 105.) The author's purpose in preparing this little volume was not to make an original contribution to the science of bibliography, but "to throw together in a convenient form some notes on sources of Catholic book-knowledge" for busy Catholic writers and students. He has put together much bibliographical information, otherwise extremely difficult to find. He has analyzed from the Catholic point of view the merits of the general bibliographies and of some Catholic and non-Catholic serial publications; he has discussed Catholic reference books and the general and special bibliographies by Catholics; he has listed the bibliographies published by Catholic institutions of higher learning, the bibliographies of the works of some Catholic authors, and the names of Catholic publishers. This comprehensive plan has been well

worked out and the numerous items are made accessible by an author-index. The author's conclusions are enlightening. Catholics are much better off as regards reference books than is generally suspected even by the great majority of those who are interested in such matters. However, Catholicism and Catholic literature in general fare badly in bibliographical works by non-Catholics. In English-speaking countries Catholic bibliographical science is still considerably behind that on the continent.

In a work of this type, selection of materials necessarily must be arbitrary. But his reviewer feels that three works have been omitted, which had excellent reasons for being included. They are the indispensable reference guides, *viz.*, Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History for Students, Teachers and Libraries*; Heimbucher's *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche*; and De Smedt's *Introductio generalis ad historiam ecclesiasticam critice tractandam*. The excellence of the work is marred by some errors. The Addis and Arnold *Catholic Dictionary* (p. 43), *e. g.*, is no longer the work of these two men but has been revised by Scannell. In the list of Catholic authors in Chapter XIII, it is important to remember that only those authors are included, the bibliographies of whose works are in books or pamphlets.

It is to be hoped that future editions of this little work will be forthcoming and that its scope be broadened. The various guides to periodical literature and books should be examined to determine the number of Catholic magazines included and completeness of their listing of Catholic subjects. Certain items of interest to American Catholics should receive attention, such as the *New York Times Book Review Supplement*, *The Saturday Review of Literature*, the *Book Review Digest*, and Mudge's *New Guide to Reference Books*. The special historical guides, *Guide to Historical Literature*, the *Jahresbericht*, and the new *International Bibliography* should be included. The Toulouse *Revue des sciences religieuses et literataires* and the *Annuario Pontificio* likewise merit inclusion. Finally it would not seem too much to demand that a chapter in the book deal with encyclopedias and dictionaries from the point of view of their reference to Catholic subjects. The work is a trail-blazer in English and deserves the attention of all interested in research in Catholic subjects. For his pioneer efforts the author deserves the tribute of sincere compliments. (ARTHUR J. RILEY.)

CLAUSS, MAX, *Die Deutsche Wende in Europe*. (Muenchen, Verlag Georg D. B. Callwey, 1934, pp. 238.) As a study of the present political situation in Germany this volume deserves attention. The author, who is evidently well versed in the history of nineteenth-century Europe, traces the successive political stages through which Germany passed during this century, beginning with the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and extending to the Revolution of 1933 in Germany, out of which so-called Hitlerism came triumphant and which must therefore be regarded as the latest stage in the political evolution of modern Germany. The author sees in the national socialism of present Germany "the beginning of an intensive German policy in the structure of the 'Reich' which is at last firmly welded" (p. 234). The study is divided into two parts, "The 'Reich' against Europe" (pp. 27-121) and "Europe against the 'Reich'" (pp. 121-232), each part containing five sections or chapters. In

the Introduction the author unfolds the political system of a century ago, and in the Conclusion he pleads for a politically united Germany along the lines which Hitler and his party have traced and for which they stand. (F. B. S.)

CLAYTON, JOSEPH, *The Protestant Reformation in Great Britain.* [The Science and Cultural Series.] (Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Company, 1934, pp. xviii, 251, $2.00.) The author is a convert to the Catholic faith of many years' standing, an Oxford man, once prominent in the Labor movement, and an historian of repute. He has aimed to give only "an introductory outline" of the religious revolution of the sixteenth century, "a plain, brief account of what happened in Great Britain." While not disguising his disapproval of that revolution and its chief promoters, he has endeavored to be scrupulously fair in assessing the character and motives of such people as Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and Cranmer. It is unfortunate that a fair number of errors have crept into the work. Some names are garbled, such as "Bernadine" (Bernardino) Ochino, "Vermiglio" (for Vermigli), "Maximillian," "Besa" (for Beza). Calvin's *magnum opus* is regularly entitled "Institutes of a Christian Man," instead of "Institutes of the Christian Religion." It seems scarcely correct to say that as to the doctrine of the Eucharist Luther "allowed full liberty of conscience" (p. 12); to describe St. Francis Borgia as the "grandson" of Alexander VI (p. 28), or St. Francis de Sales as "archbishop" of Geneva (p. 162); or to declare that Pius V's excommunication of Elizabeth was resented by "the Emperor *Ferdinand*" (p. 154). Nevertheless, in the main the author has shown himself a reliable, an illuminating, and a very interesting guide. He has achieved brevity and conciseness without falling into the style of a textbook. He has new facts and new ideas to offer about a well-worn theme. And he has filled a gap in our equipment by giving us a one-volume history of the Protestant revolt in England, Scotland, and Wales, written from a Catholic standpoint. (R. H. LORD.)

CREPEAU, Soeur ROSEMARY, O. P., Docteur ès Lettres, *Un Apôtre Dominicain aux Etats-Unis: Le Père Samuel-Charles-Gaëtan Mazzuchelli.* (Paris, J. De Gigord, 1932, pp. xvi, 352.) The author of this biography confesses that she wrote it "inspired by affection and a praiseworthy family pride," which is no defect when one deals with an apostle like Father Mazzuchelli. Born in Milan in 1806, he left his native land when twenty-two years old for the United States where for thirty-three years he devoted himself to unremitting labor. His apostolic field was the region south of the Great Lakes in the territories of Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. In this vast country, "the former spiritual fortress of the Jesuits," Father Mazzuchelli resumed the work the Black Robes had been forced to abandon four scores previously. He began his task with the courage and the energy that characterize the pioneer missionaries. He rekindled the faith of the Catholic settlers of those regions, converted Protestants, devoted himself to the conversion of the Indians, built churches and schools. The influence he acquired in the Middle West can be gauged from the fact that this Dominican was selected as chaplain of the first session of the legislature when the Territory of Wisconsin became a State. Mazzuchelli was the founder of the first province of his Order in the United States. From the very beginning he thought of establishing Dominican Sisters in the territory

he was evangelizing, but he had to wait twenty years before he was able to realize this plan. In his numerous undertakings Father Mazzuchelli met with contradictions, oppositions, and sorrows which generally befall those who are spreading the Kingdom of God, for good is never done except at the expense of those who do it. He died a victim of his charity on February 23, 1864, having caught pneumonia while bringing the last Sacraments to a dying man. Sister Rosemary composed her book on documents preserved in the archives of the Order and in the various diocesan repositories, and complements the information—mostly unpublished—by a judicious selection of articles from the American newspapers of the time. There are a few slips that escaped her. John Gilmary Shea was not a priest, and besides Marquette, there is another priest whose statue is in the National Capital, that of Junipero Serra, the Franciscan missionary. These, however, are trifles, which do not in the least detract from the value of this monograph written with an élan that holds the interest of the reader until the end. (J. DELANGLEZ, S. J.)

DAWSON, CHRISTOPHER, *Enquiries into Religion and Culture.* (New York, Sheed & Ward, 1933, pp. xi, 347, $3.00.) The general cultural background of the profound author of this and many other scholarly works shows itself better perhaps in this volume than in any that has come as yet from his pen. The volume is made up for the most part of a number of well-selected essays and articles which have appeared elsewhere. They cover a wide field, or perhaps it would be truer to say that they present many facts of our present social life, its history and its future. Running through the fifteen essays, which make up this volume, as the woof in the warp, is this important thought: "that society or culture which has lost its spiritual roots is a dying culture however prosperous it may appear externally." This thought, as profound as it is practical, furnishes the reader with a key that opens up the weakness of the disunited, yes, tangled, conditions of the recent past and a norm for future procedure. No volume has more clearly set forth the need of recognizing the material and spirtual forces as distinct, yet designed to work harmoniously for the protection and progressive advancement of society. In this volume we have rich and many-sided factual proofs of the thought-provoking statement of the late Dr. Shields in his chapter on Man's Recognition of the Reign of Law in the Realm of Life (see his *Philosophy of Education*, page 135). "The misunderstanding which thus grew up between the representatives of Christian philosophy and men of science is responsible for much of the atheism and agnosticism that has prevailed among men of science during the past two centuries." (LEO L. MCVAY.)

DE GHELLINCK, J., S. J., *Les Exercises pratiques du "Seminaire" en Théologie.* (Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1934, pp. 195.) The Apostolic Constitution—*Deus Scientiarum Dominus*—promulgated on Pentecost Sunday, May 24, 1931, with the subsequent *Ordinationes* of June 12, 1931, gave to the Catholic world a new code of ecclesiastical studies. It is a first attempt to create a uniform method of procedure in all those institutions of higher clerical training which have been canonically erected by the Holy See, namely pontifical universities and faculties of theology attached to civil universities. These were placed under the Congregation of Seminaries and Universities.

Broad general lines are drawn for the administration of these institutions and the method to be followed in teaching is described in detail. The subjects to be taught are divided into principal, auxiliary, and special. Each course includes practical exercises in the nature of a seminar, where scientific methods of research are given and where the student is to be brought back to the sources and trained to use his critical judgment in their interpretation.

It was to orientate both teacher and pupil in the method to be followed in these practical exercises that the venerable and much beloved professor of Church history in the Jesuit College at Louvain University brought together in this small compass the fruits of his long and varied experience in Louvain and in Rome. Father De Ghellinck has divided his treatment of the question of how these practical exercises should be carried out in the seminar into an introduction, seven chapters and a conclusion. A short bibliography of books on method follows, and he has reprinted the principal articles of the Constitution and the Ordinances. The purpose of the introduction is to initiate the student into the meaning of the seminar, its distinctness from the class lecture, the personal work of the student and director, as well as into the question of how far the prevailing system may be used for theological studies. This is followed by a short history of the seminar in the past—its origin and development through the *disputationes* in the medieval schools, through the academies and *collegia* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on through to our own day when through the seminars created by von Ranke, Kurth, Cauchie, Charles Kendall Adams, Emerton, Bancroft and others, the method was brought to a ripe perfection. This is one of the most interesting chapters of the book and fully completes the sketch given in the *Wissenschaftliches Arbeiten* of Father Leopold Fonck, S. J. One of the chief lessons to be drawn from this retrospect is the necessity of keeping the number in the seminar as low as possible.

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The succeeding chapters deal with the various methods of procedure in the seminar, with the special subjects to be studied and with the method of directing the seminar and the length of its seances. Then follows two thought-provoking chapters on the meaning and value of the pro-seminar, and on the relationship of the seminar with the lecture courses. A final chapter, treating the material arrangement of the seminar room, displays on the part of the author an intimate knowledge of such *locales* both abroad and in the United States; Harvard and Johns Hopkins being especially praised for their practical arrangements as to light, heat, air and library accommodations.

All through this delightfully written book, Father De Ghellinck never loses sight of the two elements which make up the successful seminar—honest, sincere laborious students, and a director whose own enthusiasm orientates, stimulates, and completes that of his students. Likewise, he never forgets that the ideal direction of a seminar is always difficult and complicated, far more fatiguing than the ordinary class lectures, and far more absorbing of the director's time and physical energy. But, he claims, the ideal can be reached when the entire group, director and students, is, as it necessarily must be in practical exercises devoted to the doctrine and history of the Church, cognizant of the magnificent beauty of both. (P. G.)

ECK, ALEXANDRE, *Le Moyen Age russe.* (Paris, Maison du livre étranger, 1933, pp. xv, 574). This volume, the work of a Russian scholar in exile, who has been enjoying the academic hospitality of Belgium, is published under the auspices of the *Université Libre* of Brussels, with a preface from the distinguished pen of M. Henri Pirenne. Essentially, it is a detailed analysis of the political, social, and economic regime in the Suzdalian-Muscovite lands during what the author considers the true Russian Middle Ages, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. In spite of a very extensive bibliography, M. Eck confesses that his documentation is not altogether complete: "le travail d'un proscrit sur l'histoire de son pays reste nécessairement défectueux." At all events, this is by far the most thorough and scholarly account that has yet appeared in any western language of the peculiar social organization of medieval Great Russia. Students of western feudalism, or of western constitutional and social history, will find here a wealth of interesting points of analogy or contrast. (R. H. LORD.)

FOAKES-JACKSON, F. J., *Eusebius Pamphili, A Study of the Man and his Writings.* (Cambridge, W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., 1933, pp. i, xvi, 153, 4/6.) The book is made up of five essays which originated as lectures given by the author in 1931. The essays are: I. *The Background*; II. *The Life of Eusebius*; III. *First Five Books of the History*; IV. *Rest of the History and Life of Constantine*; V. *Eusebius' Other Works.* The book is very readable and interesting but the essays preserve the semi-popular character of general lectures and do not advance our knowledge of Eusebius. On the contrary, by his emphasis on the contribution of Lightfoot, the author would give his readers the impression that Eusebian studies had been static since Lightfoot's article in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography.* Thus there is no formal mention of the work that has been accomplished on the text of Eusebius in the past forty years nor of the problems that exist regarding the composition and editions of Eusebius' *Church History* and the proposed solutions of these problems. The author of course is familiar with this recent scholarship but probably was embarrassed by the semi-popular form of the original lectures from introducing a more scholarly tone into his essays. The little volume concludes with a supplementary note on Eusebius' chronology and a satisfactory index. (M. R. P. M.)

FORMAN, HENRY CHANDLEE, A. I. A., *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland.* Introduction by Leicester B. Holland. (Easton, Md., Maryland Manor Society, 1934, pp. 271, 320 photographs, 145 plans, $10.00.) Maryland's tercentenary year drew attention to the architectural interest that surrounds its unostentatious dwelling houses, relics of the feudal manorial system established in the seventeenth century. The tradition of the classic abounded at this time but was tempered with a trace of romantic fancifulness reminiscent of the Middle Ages. American design of today needs just such material, for the designer of small houses can scarcely reconcile the demands of the "modern" with "homely" simplicity, the true note of domestic building.

The character of the examples shown is obviously English, their plans

coordinated to the sites chosen, and the humblest of materials are used with candor which lend a certain nobility of restraint to the expression of the structures. In many of these small edifices, the fenestration is remarkably good, the roof masses are in happy balance with the wall areas, and the distribution of elements in plan is both sensible and graceful. The only weakness apparent in these manors and plantation houses was their helplessness in case of fire. So many of the very finest have either completely disappeared, or exist in hopeless ruin. But these records of their glories are fortunately intact and they continue to live.

Studied by means of counties, perhaps an aid to historical reference, a pleasant geographical journey results, making one desirous of visiting Dorchester with its "Spocot Manor" or the Paul Jones House in Wicomico County. Since the larger old houses of Maryland, such as "Doughoregan Manor," "White Hall," and others have been purposely omitted from this volume, the grandiose is absent and one feels that relatively plain living in those days had a surprisingly happy environment. Many of the houses are not lacking in clever and imaginative adaptation to site, as for example, the lovely "Mulberry Fields" in St. Mary's County with its perspective illusion in divergent tree masses leading to the Potomac River.

The inadequacy of many of the photographic views as compared with the clarity of presentation of the ground plans and details is to be regretted. My feeling is that pen sketches would have done greater justice to the textural values of the brickwork, which lends so much character to the walls.

The work is thoroughly interesting and entertaining, for the surveys show that wit and humor were not lacking even in the entering of the names upon the rent rolls of Lord Baltimore; "Want Water" and "Find Me If You Can" are taken from these records. Religious freedom, good design, and decency in building, go hand in hand in early Maryland. Perhaps the same outlook upon life inspired both and we have but to return to Christian thinking to secure again good domestic architecture. The book commends itself at a glance to the practicing architect, the student in design, and to those interested in Maryland history. (FREDERICK V. MURPHY.)

GADE, JOHN A., *The Life of Cardinal Mercier*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934, pp. ix, 312, $2.75.) The late Primate of Belgium has already had many biographers. While an adequate interpretation of the rôle played by Cardinal Mercier will require a longer perspective of time, the author of this biography thought that an appreciation of this rôle should be attempted while those who have known the Archbishop of Malines were still alive. To this effect M. Gade consulted Mercier's relatives, colleagues and friends. The story of his life is known. What the reader will find in perusing this book is a warm sympathy for the man who, from the quiet of a life given to study, became a world figure when the circumstances forced him to rise as the chief protagonist of moral, imperishable values. This sympathy acquires a new meaning coming from a Protestant. The book bears the imprimatur of Cardinal Hayes; it is illustrated and indexed, and the English rendering of the writings of Mercier is remarkable. In the appendix there are interesting extracts from the diary of Franz, the Flemish

valet who accompanied the Cardinal on his visit to America. (J. DELANGLEZ, S. J.)

GEYER, Dr. BERNHARD, University of Bonn, *Peter Abaelards philosophische Schriften.* II: *Die "Logica Nostrorum Petitioni Sociorum." Die Glossen zu Porphyrius.* (Muenster, Aschendorff, 1933, pp. 143, 6.80 Rm.) The present fascicle completes the invaluable first edition of the Dialectic Glosses to Porphyrius by preparing which edition Dr. Geyer has done so much for the rehabilitation of their author: Peter Abelard. The *Untersuchungen* by the editor are so revolutionary in their results that they will imperatively command a correction of the traditional views on historical continuity of western medieval Aristotelism; the constructions of Prantl who, in his *History of Logic,* fills in the apparent break by assuming borrowings from the Byzantines, are completely demolished and the independent penetration of Aristotelian thought by western philosophers is well established. "Abelard is the great pioneer of Aristotelism in the Twelfth Century—and this nominalist and hotly antagonized theologian is the first one to express ideas which are in thorough conformity with those of the best period of Scholasticism and, in particular, those of St. Thomas" (p. 630). The findings of Dr. Geyer are well calculated to give pause to those cock-sure critics who, in blissful ignorance of what is being done by real scholars, continue to belittle great medieval thinkers whose nebulous acquaintance they have scraped in the infallible pages of some compendium of philosophy. (EDWIN J. AUWEILER, O. F. M.)

GRABMANN, M., *Die Geschichte der katholischen Theologie seit dem Ausgang der Väterzeit.* (Freiburg im Br., Herder and Co., 1933, pp. xiii, 368, $3.00.) Msgr. Grabmann has written this book to replace the sketch of the history of Catholic theology given by M. J. Scheeben in the *Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik* (Vol. 1, Freiburg, 1879, pp. 419-464) which has long been out of date and has always been too brief. The text proper falls into three main divisions: I. *The Theology of the Middle Ages* (pp. 25-143); II. *The History of Theology in the Earlier Modern Period* (pp. 144-205); III. *Theology in the Period of the Enlightenment and During the Nineteenth and at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (pp. 207-281). In addition to his main exposition, the author has furnished an excellent general bibliographical introduction (pp. 10-15), followed by a sketch of the fundamental significance of Patristic thought for medieval theology (pp. 15-24), invaluable special bibliographies at the end of the text (pp. 283-346), and a good index of persons (pp. 347-368).

The history of Catholic theology is not only a vital subject for theologians but also for all students of cultural history, and Msgr. Grabmann has placed in their hands an indispensable tool and guide. The book sums up the contemporary state of our knowledge of the subject, and, for the medieval period, which Grabmann knows best, it is practically exhaustive. Only those who are familiar with the lack of the suitable preliminary studies for writing such a work fully realize the achievement of the author in amassing and presenting in orderly fashion such a wealth of information on medieval theo-

logians and their teachings. The treatment of Catholic theology in modern times is not meant to be complete, but the main lines are sketched with a sure hand and the bibliographies guide the student to detailed monographs or articles. In dealing with Catholic theology in America one could wish that the author had not confined himself to one short paragraph and two names: Kenrick and Spalding. Msgr. Grabmann's book must not be regarded, however, as a real historical synthesis, for such a synthesis at the present state of our knowledge is as yet impossible. It is rather a very brief descriptive account of theologians and doctrines, period by period and country by country, with the narrative being centered around outstanding personalities in each epoch or region. Hence, while the book can be read through with profit, it is better adapted for reference use and undoubtedly will be employed for the most part in this way. In this account it is a pity that the author did not add a good subject index to his index of persons.

To the list of corrections on page 368 add the following: p. 258, line 12 from end: for 1921 read 1821; p. 285, line 16 from end: for Garkoin, Gaskoin (and also in the index); p. 289, line 11 from top: for Sickes, read Sikes (and also in the index); p. 291, line 19 from end: for 1920 read 1930. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE.)

HABIG, MARION A., O. F. M., A. M., *The Franciscan Père Marquette.* (New York, 1934, pp. xiii, 301.) To quote the subtitle, this is "A Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membré, O. F. M., La Salle's Chaplain and Missionary Companion, 1645 (ca.)-1689." It is a well-written and thorough piece of historical research, valuable especially for its practically exhaustive presentation of bibliographical matter pertaining to La Salle and his explorations in North America. For this and for his accurate and clear correlation of data the author deserves high praise and his work will certainly have to be recognized by such as undertake to treat this portion of American history. Students and writers will be grateful to him for the four documents contained in the appendix (pp. 207-256), for the rich bibliography (pp. 258-285), and for the splendid map drawings scattered through the volume. Where the study is deficient, at least in part, is in grasp of background and fullness of interpretation. The reason for this lies probably in the author's realization that he was here on thin ice and had to tread softly and discreetly. More seriously objectionable is the title he chose for the study, a mistake which is by no means remedied by the lengthy subtitle. For a sensational bit of propaganda—which the work is not by any means—such a title might be appropriate. It is most inappropriate, however, for a painstaking and scholarly piece of historical investigation. Moreover, it grants Father Marquette a rank in Catholic American history which has been shown to be far beyond actual merit. In point of real achievement Marquette was in no way typical of the others, not even of his own confrères in the missions, and should therefore not be represented as such by serious-minded writers of history among whom the content and character of the present volume assures its author a place. To ignore the verdict of sound history is precarious; the only loser is the one who ignores it and who for

reasons of his own clings to "traditions" that have no foundation in fact. (F. B. S.)

HASBROUCK, ALFRED, Ph. D., *Foreign Legionaries in the Liberation of Spanish South America.* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1928, pp. 470, $6.75.) This excellent study, that for its fine scholarship should have been noticed in the pages of the REVIEW long ago, tells in a most fascinating way the story of the first foreign legionaries who served in Bolivar's army during his struggle in northern and northwestern South America against Spain between 1817 and 1826. The story opens with a portrayal of political conditions in South America "Preliminary to the Scene of Action" and closes with a summarizing estimate as to "What the Legionaries Signified." In the last chapter a splendid comparison is drawn "between this war for the liberation of the northern and northwestern portions of Spanish South America and that struggle which was more nearly like it than probably any other, namely the revolution of the Thirteen American Colonies" (p. 375). While reading the volume, rich with incidents showing the hardships that the legionaries endured and the dissensions that rose in their midst, one can not help admiring the courage with which the former were faced and wondering how, despite the latter, at least a semblance of military order was preserved and aid rendered to the cause of Bolivar and his fellow patriots. The chapters are heavily documented and a rich bibliography (pp. 435-447) lists under "Sources" and "Secondary Works" manuscript materials, books, pamphlets, newspapers, and periodicals. It is not only a thrilling account but also a valuable contribution to historical literature concerning South America during the Independence movement. (F. B. S.)

HOLBROOK, FRANKLIN F., and APPEL, LIVIA, *Minnesota in the War with Germany*, Vol. II. (Saint Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1932, pp. 257, $2.50.) Students of either local or national history will find good reading in this second volume of World War history issued under the aegis of the Minnesota Historical Society. The book gives a vivid impression of how the varied resources of the state, human and material, were put to wartime use. It is largely concerned with civilian activities in support of the army at the front, in evolving a system of local defense, in conservation of food and fuel, in raising funds for Liberty Loan, Red Cross, and other auxiliary services, and in maintaining public morale in a population of diverse national origins. The chief item of Catholic interest is the record of the war work of the Minnesota Knights of Columbus. A chapter of major interest to all Americans is that which portrays the practices used to create opinion in favor of the war, and the effects thereof; it is an excellent objective presentation of popular psychology during war. The quiet, dispassionate style of the authors provides a sharp contrast for the stresses and strains of the time, and awakens memory, to taste again old exaltation, bitterness, and pain. (ELIZABETH LYNSKEY.)

HORNE, HERMAN HARRELL, Ph. D., LL. D., *The Democratic Philosophy of Education.* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1932, pp. xxiii, 547.) In this volume Dr. Horne has attempted to explain and at the same time point out the short-comings of the educational philosophy of Dr. John Dewey as ex-

pressed in his *Democracy and Education*. One cannot read very far into this work without being constrained to admit that Dr. Horne is endeavoring to use Christian charity. In the twenty-six chapters making up the treatise Dr. Horne plainly shows the vagueness of Dewey. One feels the stress under which the critic is laboring as he endeavors to explain the want of precision both in writing and in thinking of him, who until recently, was the guide and director of the teaching corps in the public schools of our country. In his honesty of purpose Dr. Horne has done a worthy service to the educators of America, for he has adroitly pointed out that J. W. Beach in his *Outlook for American Prose*, page 41, published by the University of Chicago Press in 1926, was too true when he said of Dewey: "His extreme want of precision in writing makes me uneasy; it makes me wonder if there is something unsound about his thinking—it makes hard reading; that is the rhetorical side of the matter. And I fear that it often implies confusion in the thought and that looks back to the logical side of the matter and tends to make us sceptical even as to the soundness and validity of his argument—I can not help suspecting that a writer who is constantly guilty of looseness of expression in detail may be guilty of looseness of thinking in the large." Dr. Horne then has done a laudable and a real service for the teaching force in the United States by thus exposing the unstableness of an author like Dewey in a matter of such importance as Education. The author of this volume has builded better than he knew. See his conclusion, pages 529 to 533. (Leo L. McVay.)

Johnson, Guion Griffis, Ph. D., *A Social History of the Sea Islands with Special Reference to St. Helena Island, South Carolina*. (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1930, pp. 250, $3.00.) This study is one of three volumes resulting from a coöperative research project concerning Negro culture on St. Helena Island made under the joint auspices of the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina and the Social Science Research Council. The work originally planned, the author tells us, as a brief background study lengthened into its present form because of the discovery of much manuscript material bearing on the subject. The work is concerned with the cultural development of the Sea Islands from the time of their colonization to the end of the Reconstruction period of the Civil War. There are many interesting details on the making of indigo and the raising of cotton in the Old South. The book is well written; has a good bibliography and index, and is supplied with a fine map of the region under discussion. The two companion volumes on Negro culture on St. Helena Island are *Black Yeomanry* by T. J. Woofter, Jr., a history of the Island in recent years; and *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island* by Guy B. Johnson. (I. R., C. P.)

Kapp, Rudolf, *Heilige und Heiligenlegenden in England: Studien zum 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. Erster Band. (Halle-Saale, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1934, pp. xiii, 371.) This work deals with Saints and their Legends in England from the beginning of the sixteenth century into the Elizabethan period. Its author, a non-Catholic, in the beginning of his study traces the

significance of the words "Legend" and "Saint" at different times. This is of importance, more so even in the case of the word "Legend," too often identified with fable. He next investigates a number of the *Legenda*, particularly the *Golden Legend*. The greater part of this first volume of studies on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries treats of the influence of saints and their legends on culture, particularly on the printing art, on history and on literature. Catholic sources are not neglected in the presentation. (GEORGE B. STRATEMEIER, O. P.)

LATANÉ, JOHN HOLLADAY, *A History of American Foreign Policy*. Revised and enlarged by David W. Wainhouse. (Garden City, Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1934, pp. xvi, 862, $4.00.) This revised edition of the late Professor Latané's excellent text, first published in 1927, brings the story of American foreign relations down to the end of 1933. The first twenty-two chapters remain as they first appeared. Some seven chapters have been revised to a greater or less degree, and six new chapters by Mr. Wainhouse concern the following topics: "Disarmaments Since the Washington Conference," "The United States and the Permanent Court of International Justice," "The Pact of Paris," "The Sino-Japanese Conflict and Post-War Agencies of Peace," "War Debts and Reparations," and "The Breakdown of Isolation." (J. J. M.)

Life of the Venerable Anne of Jesus, Companion of St. Teresa of Avila. By a Sister of Notre Dame de Namur. (St. Louis, B. Herder Book Co., 1932, pp. 327.) Anne de Lobera, as she was known in the world, was born, a deaf mute, on November 25, 1545, at Medina del Campo, in Castile. At the age of seven she was suddenly cured of her affliction, and in 1570 entered the Carmel directed by St. Teresa at Avila. It was her privilege to imbibe the principles of the religious life from the Saint herself, and for the remainder of her life Anne labored zealously to propagate the Teresian Reform at home and abroad. It was she who took a major part in the establishment of the Reform in France and in the Low Countries. There can be little doubt that Anne of Jesus was a remarkable woman, both in the order of nature and in the order of grace. She lived in an age of eminent saints. With two of them—St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross—she was associated in the propagation of the contemplative life. It was to her that the latter dedicated his explanation of the *Spiritual Canticle*, and it was she in turn who directed the publication of the writings of St. Teresa. Throughout the volume the reader may discern those characteristics of the spiritual life that distinguish the Carmelite School—the supreme importance of God, the nothingness of man, and the striving for complete detachment from creatures in order to arrive, if God grants the grace, at a state of contemplation. Evidences of heroic sanctity abound throughout this record of the life of Venerable Anne of Jesus. In 1878 she was declared Venerable, and in 1835 the cause of her beatification was introduced.

The composition of the present work has apparently progressed under the watchful sympathy of the Carmelite historian, Father Benedict Zimmerman, who has done so much to interpret for these later times the teachings of St.

Teresa and of St. John of the Cross. Yet the reviewer cannot close the volume without a feeling of regret that so eminent a subject was not introduced to the English-speaking world by a different type of biography. That the preparation of the work entailed a vast amount of research is apparent from almost every page. Yet much of the significance of this labor has been lost because of the absence of the technical apparatus which would enable the reader to control the results of the research and which beget confidence in the author. The chapters abound in letters and other primary material of capital importance, but the reader is left in the dark concerning the whereabouts of this material. What footnotes are employed are explanatory rather than critical. The list of works consulted is compiled without reference to their primary or secondary character. In a life of one moving so habitually on the level of mysticism and of contemplation as did Venerable Anne of Jesus, this is even less excusable. References in the text "prove wearisome" only to those who will it so. Standards of hagiography are now well established, both in theory and in execution, and the purposes of edification are served no less well by an adherence to those norms which an enlightened appreciation of the demands of the time has formulated. The architectural monuments of the Middle Ages have endured to edify and instruct later generations not alone because they are beautiful, but because they are structurally sound as well. (THOMAS F. O'CONNOR.)

MARTIN, PAUL R., *The First Cardinal of the West.* (Chicago, The New World Publishing Co., 1934, pp. xvi, 215, $3.00.) This volume presents the story of the Church in the Archdiocese of Chicago, under the administration of His Eminence, George Cardinal Mundelein. The twenty-six chapters of the book originally appeared in the columns of *The New World*, the official Catholic newspaper of the Archdiocese of Chicago. The book was written by one very well qualified by training and by culture for the task. The result is a well-rounded study of the strides that have been made in a great number of fields in Catholic life in Chicago. The aid given to development of religious practices, education, charities, youth movement, building activities, etc., under the administration of Cardinal Mundelein is presented. No effort is made to magnify the central figure of the volume, but the accomplishments proclaim the great merits and tireless activity of the First Cardinal of the West. (PAUL KINIERY.)

MEYER, ALBERT DE, O. P., *Le Proces de l'Attentat commis contre Guillaume Le Taciturne, Prince d'Orange.* (Brussels, Edition Universelle, 1933, pp. xvi, 244.) Last year Holland celebrated the anniversary of the birth of Guillaume le Taciturne, prince d'Orange. A number of ceremonies and various eulogies glorified the memory and commemorated the principal events of the founder of the Dutch dynasty. *Le Proces de l'Attentat* sheds new lights and bring out important rectifications on the attempt which was made on the life of William of Orange at Antwerp on the 18th of March, 1582. Jean Jauregi was accused of the attempt and paid with his life, but at the same time a certain Venero and Father Antony Temmerman, of Dunkerque, were accused of plotting with Jauregi. The friends of William of Orange published the

Bref Recueil in which they narrated the court procedures of the trial. All historians always accepted this *Recueil* as authentic and accordingly Father Temmerman was always considered as one of the conspirators of the crime. Father Meyer, in his study, well documented, proves that Father Temmerman was not implicated in the attempt. He leads us to several conclusions: 1, that the interrogations of the 18th of March proved the identity of Jauregi; 2, the guilt of Anastro; 3, the desire of the magistrates to implicate the priests in the affair; 4, the confession of Jauregi that Father Temmerman had heard the preceding Friday. The magistrates concluded that Father Temmerman knew of the plot through Jauregi's confession, and that since he had not denounced it, he was a complice in the act. No one was able to make Father Temmerman violate the secret of confession and accordingly he was condemned. He died a martyr of the seal of confession, a martyr for his faith, a victim of the religious hatred, and of devotion to souls. The conclusions are justified because Father Meyer sustains them with historical documents which had never been brought to light. This book reads very easily in spite of its important documents, and should interest those who are students of this period. (LEON BAISIER.)

NOYES, ARTHUR H., Ph. D., *Europe: Its History and Its World Relationships, 1789-1933.* (Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1934, pp. xv, 651, $3.75.) Professor Noyes of Ohio State University has added another to the rapidly growing number of textbooks for the history of nineteenth-century Europe and the present age. This volume covers the period from the French Revolution (with an introductory survey chapter on "The Eighteenth Century") to the accession of Hitler to the German Chancellorship and Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933. The book is furnished with twenty-five maps and twenty-eight pages of illustrations, carrying ninety likenesses of the chief figures in both European politics and society from Newton to Ghandi. In the back of the volume is a bibliography listing books by chapters and including works in English or in translations mostly from the German and French. The volume has a very complete index. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS.)

PALM, Sister MARY BORGIAS, A. M., *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country, 1673-1763.* (Privately printed, 1931, pp. 138.) This is a doctoral dissertation presented to the Graduate School of St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo. It recounts the story of the Jesuit missionaries and explorers in the Mississippi Valley, beginning with the first French expedition to the "Great Water" (the Mississippi) in 1673 and concluding with France's loss to England of these regions in 1763 after the so-called French and Indian War. There are eight chapters, the notes to which are printed in the rear of the volume (pp. 103-123). Of the bibliography, the most valuable portion is the list of "Unpublished Sources" (pp. 124-126). As to content, the study is not what one might expect. Mexico is surely part of North America, geographically. If so, then the opening sentence of the first chapter is incorrect; *viz.*, "To France belongs the honor of exploring the interior of North America" (p. 11). What about the Spaniards farther south and

even in what is now part of the United States? Equally erroneous is the implied verdict of the author that the "ten years [1615-1625] of heroic labors of the Recollects" (*i. e.*, Franciscans) who in 1625 "invited the Jesuits to share their mission" in New France effected no "lasting impression upon the Indians" among whom they labored (p. 12). The *scientific* history of the Huron missions, for instance, tells a different story. Hence, in the paragraph following, the author states very correctly, but neglects to state why, when the Jesuits alone were permitted to return to New France in 1632, the Huron Indians were "more advanced in civilization than the Algonquins" and "more amenable to the efforts to Christianize them" (p. 13). Here is the reason one would expect to find in a doctoral dissertation; *viz.*, because those first ten years of Franciscan activity (1615-1625) *did* effect "a lasting impression upon the Indians" of the Huron country at least. Fortunately, the author does not speak of the French "discovery" of the Mississippi, by implication at least assigns to Jolliet his rightful place in the 1673 expedition, and carefully avoids ascribing to Father Marquette the authorship of the narrative of this expedition. But why always speak of the missionary as the "young" or "youthful" Marquette (pp. 12, 19)? In 1673 he was thirty-six years old; Jolliet, nearly ten years younger, was the youth, if a youth we must have in the story. Perhaps La Salle's having been previously a Jesuit "for some years" (why not say *nine* years and be done with it?) would account for his unfriendly attitude toward the Jesuits in matters of western expansion (p. 20). On Father Rale and related matters the author might now, after having written the dissertation, consult with profit a recent article in *The New England Quarterly* (September, 1934, pp. 541-578). Commendable is the author's treatment of the conflict that ensued between the Jesuits and the Quebec Seminary Priests for charge of the Tamaroa mission (pp. 31-34). Here she tries to be fair to both parties. The sixth chapter which deals with "The Missionaries in the Illinois Country, 1718-1763" (pp. 49-79) is particularly well written, is rich in detail, and faces more courageously the political and international issues incidental to the labors of the priests among the Indians. The same holds, generally speaking, with regard to the chapter on "The Banishment of the Jesuits from the Illinois Country" (pp. 86-97); while the preceding chapter on "Side-lights in the Parish Registers of Kaskaskia" (pp. 80-85) is both interesting and illuminating. (F. B. S.)

RAIMOND, Abbé J., *Je suis la Voie*. (Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1934, pp. vi, 309, 10 francs.) This collection of theological meditations is addressed to the members of the clergy and laity. The former will find a carefully documented summary of the elements of spiritual life, and the latter, especially those who had the pleasure of hearing Father Raimond, will feel more inclined to follow and take him as a guide on their spiritual journey. Of all the religious books which come off the French press every year, this one should be translated into English. (PAUL A. BARRETTE.)

SCHOLZ, RICHARD (Ed.), *Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi. Marsilius von Padua: Defensor Pacis.* Fasc. I-II. (Hannover, 1932, pp. lxxii, 637.) In spite of the celebrity of the *Defensor Pacis* from the time of its composition, all students of the work before the last few years had to be content with an uncritical text, which in many places was not only defective but unintelligible. But in 1928, the English scholar, C. W. Previté-Orton, brought out the first critical edition of the *Defensor Pacis* based on an examination of the twenty MSS. known to him. His edition is furnished with a good introduction, references to the sources employed by Marsilius, and fairly good indices. The present work is an entirely new critical edition of the *Defensor Pacis* prepared for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* by the German scholar, Richard Scholz. The new editor has been able to utilize several MSS. unknown to Previté-Orton; but as the most important MSS. were already used by the latter, the new MSS. do not seriously affect his text. Scholz is in general agreement with his predecessor on the MS. tradition, so that his text shows no striking divergences. In a long *Einleitung* he covers for the most part the same points as Previté-Orton, but devotes more space to the description of the MSS. and to the question of the authorship of the *Defensor Pacis*. In keeping with the practice of the *Monumenta*, he has furnished his edition with good indices: (1) *Namenregister*, (2) *Wort-und sachregister*, (3) *Autorenzitate*, (4) *Bibelzitate*. The word-index is especially welcome as Prévité-Orton's indices are too scanty in this respect. (M. R. P. M.)

SHEPPERSON, Sister M. FIDES, Ph. D., *Seventeen Crises in World-History.* (Richmond, Va., Whittet and Shepperson, 1933, pp. 238.) This lively series of reveries, chiefly on battles from Marathon to the Marne, is intended for use as a college textbook or manual for collateral historical readings. Emphasis on crisis in history is always salutary in times when the past is devitalized to many young minds by the soporific illusions of economic determinism. The pivotal moments here are well chosen and the issues succinctly stated at the heads of the chapters. The romantic treatment of the crisis is tempered by reflections in the spirit of Thomas a Kempis' maxim: "Nothing is great that is not eternal"; and reminiscences of the vivid *élan* of Victor Hugo and of Thomas Carlyle are sometimes quaintly corrected by at least a touch of contemporary pacifist sentiment. Many questions are raised in regard to providential design, the self-contradictions of human character, the determinative force in history of free agency; sometimes devout generalizations are too promptly invoked on specific problems to suggest that patient investigation and strict historic method might throw some light on them. Literary allusion is profuse and often illuminating, though at times rhetoric is strained, as in the telescoped Shakesperian allusion "Pelion-Ossa" (pp. 65, 97), and where Wellington is made to "hiss" a conspicuously non-sibillant command. In a new edition some pruning of declamatory passages, and the recasting or omission of a school-girl discussion (pp. 20-28), would leave more appreciable many thoughtful sections, and well-written chapters such as those on the Armada, Naseby, Louis XIV, and Pultowa. The little book would make a good companion for an extensive foreign tour, or on a parlor

table might give waiting visitors a few profitable and thought-provoking minutes. (W. T. M. GAMBLE.)

SIMPSON, W. J. SPARROW, *The History of the Anglo-Catholic Revival from 1845*. (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1933, pp. 304, 8/6.) No one could be better fitted to write this volume than its author. Canon Sparrow Simpson is a sober scholar and thoroughly in the Anglo-Catholic tradition. He has written a fascinating story of the recovery of the movement from the shock of Newman's conversion and its growth since that date of crucial divisions. While it is, to a large extent, a story of triumphs over grave difficulties, it must be said that, at least from a non-Anglican viewpoint, these very triumphs are the negation of the philosophy of the movement, if not of the movement itself. Surely the whole point of Anglo-Catholicism is that it is episcopal rather than pontifical Catholicism. Yet these "victories" were almost all at the expense of the bishops of the established Church. Further it seems unfortunately too obvious that even the Anglo-Catholics have fallen a victim to the ancient Anglican disease of "comprehensiveness" and seem to be more interested in their own toleration than in the early High Church claim to be the whole Church. Again, while he does not say so openly, the Canon seems, not unjustifiably, to be somewhat alarmed over the growth of modernism among the younger Anglo-Catholic clergy. It is a far cry from Newman and Pusey to the intellectual leaders of today. The summary of the whole affair, and from the Catholic standpoint, its condemnation, to be seen in a phrase which dominates the entire volume, is found in its second paragraph and repeated in the very last. "The history of the English Church is a series of reactions." But the Catholic Faith knows no dogmatic "reactions." (ANSELM M. TOWNSEND, O. P.)

STEFFES, J. P., D. D., Ph. D., *Disarmament*. [Schriften zur Deutschen Politik, No. 28.] (Köln, Gilde-Verlag, 1933, pp. 99.) This is an examination, largely on the grounds of religion and philosophy, of the meaning of peace and its ultimate attainment. Treated somewhat objectively yet one realizes in these pages the great difference between peace based upon right reason and moral judgment and pacifism engendered by rationalism, pragmatism, and humanitarian considerations. Christian sects outside the Church, while working whole-heartedly in the cause of peace, are necessarily thrown back upon utilitarian grounds faced as they are with lack of moral authority and their acceptance of a sharp division between religion and politics, of the principle of separation of Church and State. The attitude of the Catholic Church toward war is succinctly and clearly stated. In its capacity of a world-Church, able to speak with dogmatic and moral certainty, Catholicism, the writer states, is, and remains, a basis and guarantee of world peace. As for immediate practical results the writer very sensibly points out that disarmament cannot wait upon the moral regeneration of peoples, the only permanent basis of peace. If depended upon entirely in the present state of affairs, peace would seem rather a long way off. (ELIZABETH SWEENEY.)

STONE, GRACE ZARING, *The Cold Journey*. (New York, Morrow, 1934, pp. 336, $2.50.) The author has given in story form the capture of Redfield

(Deerfield), Mass., February 29, 1704, by the French and Indians. With Rev. John Williams' *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion* as her basis, she has carefully reconstructed the episodes on the journey to New France which one group of these captives made. Vivid portrayals are given of the reactions, thoughts, and desires of these unfortunate New Englanders and their captors, all of whom appear under new names. Her plan is well conceived and the story moves steadily and smoothly forward. (ARTHUR J. RILEY.)

THURSTON, HERBERT, S. J., *The Church and Spiritualism.* (Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Co., 1933, pp. xxi, 384.) Father Thurston has given our Catholic people a serious, calm, and well-balanced presentation, in this volume, of the facts and the proper attitude we must hold towards the problem of spiritualism. In his sixteen chapters he has with mastery and proportion outlined the history of the problems involved in this subtle and dangerous subject. He has stated the facts as they are, often in the very words of those who have become enmeshed in the movement, thus making his volume a real source-book. As the reader peruses the data so carefully collated by the prudent author he is counseled and assured that people have learned nothing of practical worth from their attempted intercourse with the spirits of the departed and in many an instance undesirable psychical effects have resulted. Most of the chapters deserve especial notice. This is particularly true of Chapters I, XVI, and XVII. (L. L. McV.)

VIDAL, Mgr. J. M., *A Moscou durant le premier triennat soviétique (1917-1920).* (Paris, Maison de la bonne Presse, 1934, pp. 242.) Monsignor Vidal was in charge of the French colony of Moscow during the first three years of the Soviet regime. The notes which he then took were unfortunately lost for more than ten years. Accidentally found and offered to the criticism of friends, the author was happily persuaded to publish them in book-form. The book, as such, does not offer much new material on the social, religious, political, or economical conditions of Russia. It is nevertheless praiseworthy not only for its sincerity but also for its exact observations. (P. A. B.)

WARICHEZ, JOSEPH, *Les "Disputationes" de Simon de Tournay.* (Louvain, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1932, pp. lx, 346.) Several authors during the seventeen and eighteen centuries had attempted to narrate the life of Simon of Tournay, but they had only complicated it, since others had published here and there various articles concerning this brilliant professor and deep theologian, but Warichez has brought to light many interesting and well sustained facts on the life of Simon. He goes further and publishes the *Disputationes* which had never been edited, not even in the Migne Patrology. These are important as they show an evolution of the type over those of Abelard and other similar authors. They are a resume of the problems which were discussed between Simon and his pupils, at times the students find the solution, or Simon deduces it himself from the discussions offered by the students, or if the subject is too intricate, Simon cuts the subject short and directs himself the principles of the solution. The answers are clear and

concise. The *Disputationes* number 102, dealing with 371 different theological subjects: Holy Trinity, Original Sin, Freedom of the Will, Grace, etc. Simon generally sustains his statements with the opinions of the early Fathers and Scriptural quotations. But he hardly ever mentions his sources and cites "Ad mentem" rather than "Ad verbum." Warichez established his text from MSS. Oxford College de Balliol 65 and Bruges 194, in preference to the other five that are in Oxford, Bruges, Berlin, and the British Museum. However, he gives us a table of concordance between these various manuscripts. It is a critical edition well presented with all quotations in italics. At the end of the book Warichez has listed all sources of the *Disputationes* according to the authors and to the *Initia* of the quotations. In the appendices we find a short expository of the Creed of the Apostles by Simon and one of his sermons on the anthem "O Sapientia." This book should be of great interest to all students of medieval history, and medieval theology. (LEON BAISIER.)

WILLIAMSON, BENEDICT, *The Story of Pope Pius XI.* (New York, P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1931, pp. 174, $2.00.) The pontificate of Pius XI will doubtless pass into history as a most illustrious one. The author in popular style portrays the ideals and the achievements of Pius XI, and this not exhaustively, for such is not his intent but he deals with the career of the Pope so as to afford the reader an estimate of the greatness of the reigning pontiff. For particular emphasis Benedict Williamson selects the canonization of St. Therese of Lisieux, the Missionary Exposition, the concluding of the Lateran Treaty and the worldwide broadcast. The book is beautifully illustrated. (G. B. S.)

WOODRUFF, C. EVELEIGH (Tr. and Ed.), *A XVth Century Guide Book to the Principal Churches of Rome. Compiled c. 1470 by William Brewyn.* Translated from the Latin with Introduction and Notes. (London, The Marshall Press, Ltd., 1933, pp. viii, 86.) This interesting medieval *Guide* is translated and edited from a MS. which was purchased from a London bookseller by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury in 1922, and is now preserved in their library. The MS. most probably came originally from the library of Sir Henry Ingilby, Ripley Castle, Yorkshire. William Brewyn was an English priest who lived for some years at Rome under the pontificates of Paul II and Sixtus IV and acquired a reputation for his study of the antiquities of the city. He wrote the present work as a guide book to the churches of Rome; it is a manual of practical information for travellers coming from England, as he outlines the route from Calais to Rome, indicating the mileage from place to place, and he gives a sort of table of exchanges of various kinds of money. Brewyn was evidently an industrious man of antiquarian bent, but there is no trace of a critical spirit in his indiscriminate recital of fact and fiction. However, his *Guide* is a precious document for the archaeological history of fifteenth-century Rome as well as for the social and economic history of the same period. In addition to Brewyn's *Guide* the MS. contains a list of the relics of the Cathedral Church of Christ at Canterbury, also compiled by Brewyn, and several religious poems in English written in the same hand as the rest of the MS.

The edition has included this material in the book under review. The English poems should prove of special interest to students of English literature.

The translation on the whole seems fairly accurate, but without the Latin text it is impossible to pass final judgment. The Latin text should certainly have been printed. The introduction is adequate, but the same cannot be said for the notes. The latter are in part insufficient and in part uncritical. Moreover, the number of misprints in the book, especially in the notes, is alarming and quite surprising in an English work. (M. R. P. M.)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

L'histoire vaut-elle d'être narrée? Georges Robitaille (*Canada Français*, March).

The Victory over False History. Hilaire Belloc (*America*, December 29).

The Romance of the Recovery of Early Christian Writings. W. F. Howard (*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, January).

The Roman Church and Political Action. Max Ascoli (*Foreign Affairs*, April).

Has the Church Obstructed Progress? R. A. Edwards (*Hibbert Journal*, January).

The Vatican and Nationalism. George Seldes (*Commonweal*, February 22, March 1).

The Year and its Parts: Some Notes on the Breviary Calendar. E. S. Phillips (*Ecclesiastical Review*, January).

Almanacs as Historical Sources. Esther Jerabek (*Minnesota History*, December).

The Decline of the West in Actual Progress. G. K. Bowes (*Hibbert Journal*, January).

The Meaning and History of the Term "Internuncio." G. H. Bolsover (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, February).

The History, Religion, and Literature of Israel: Research in the Old Testament, 1914-1925. R. H. Pfeiffer (*Harvard Theological Review*, October).

The Real Presence in the Early Middle Ages. R. P. Redmond (*Clergy Review*, December).

Medievalism and Catholicism. Herbert Antcliffe (*Clergy Review*, December).

Introducción al "Proceso" inquisitorial de los hebraístas halmantinos del siglo XVI. M. de la Pinta Llorente (*Religion y Cultura*, February).

The Reformation Mind. Andrew Beck (*Clergy Review*, January).

La tragédie de l'Église évangélique (continued). P. Delattre, S. J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, January, February, March).

The Society of the Atonement: Its Genesis and History (continued). T. J. O'Connell (*Lamp*, January, February, March).

The Policy of Pius XI. (*Round Table*, December).

Il Cristianesimo in Cina. Romeo Bellotti (*Nuova Revista Storica*, November-December).

Painters among Catholic Missionaries and their Helpers in Peking. J. C. Ferguson (*Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1934).

El P. Pedro Trigoso de Calatayua, promotor de los estudios Buenaventurianos, 1533-1593 (continued). Melchor de Pobladura, O. M. Cap. (*Collectanea Franciscana*, January).

The De Luna Expedition. Brendan Sullivan, O. P. (*Dominicana*, December).

El P. Diego de Herrera: sus expediciones, su muerte. Eleuterio Turrado (*Religion y Cultura*, February).

La fundación de Lima y el sentido de su Centenario. P. M. Vélez (*Religion y Cultura*, February).

Das Problem des Jesuitenstaates Paraguay: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Südamerikas und des dortigen Deutschtums. O. Quelle (*Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*, VIII, 3).

De Fr. Joanne de la Deule Missionario Americae (1492-1510). Hugolinus Lippens, O. F. M. (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, Jan.-April) South American missionary.

EUROPEAN

Religion in Europe, 1215-1540. R. M. Wilson (*Churchman*, January).

Saint Jean d'Acre, I, II. Pierre Benoit (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, February, March).

Vacances en Gascogne. Edmond Buron (*Canada Français*, March).

Hugues de Saint-Bertin: était il archichapelain de Charles le Chauve? Philip Guerson (*Moyen Age*, October-December).

Richart Laban, sergent du roi de la forêt de Retz, et le XXVIIIe miracle de Saint Louis. L. C. Barré (*Moyen Age*, October-December).

The Centenary of Cajetan. J. S. Fenton (*Commonweal*, January 25).

Sentimiento antiespañol en la Historia y Literatura Inglesas. Casiano García (*Religion y Cultura*, February).

Don José Nicolás de Azara y su Intervención en la Extinción de la Compañia de Jesús. L. A. Martinez (*Universidad*, November-December).

L'hitlérisme devant la religion. Charles Sarolea (*La Revue Belge*, February).

Les horizons religieux en Allemagne. M. d'Harcourt (*Études*, February 5).

The German Church Conflict. D. L. Reed (*Foreign Affairs*, April).

Hitlerism and the Saar Catholics. Albert Brandt (*Catholic World*, January).

Die Frühzeit der Herz-Jesu-Verehrung und der Dominikanerorden. Carl Richstaetter (*Stimmen der Zeit*, November).

Per la Pace di Westfalia: missione alle corte di Francia e di Spagna del P. Innocenzo Marcinno da Caltagirone, generale dei Minori Cappuccini, 1647-1648 (concluded). Samuele da Chiaramonte, O. M. Cap. (*Collectanea Franciscana*, January).

Les monastères du Wadi 'n Natroun (continued). Ch. Martin, S. J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, March).

Trois étapes du catholicisme en Estonie. C. Bourgeois, S. J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, March).

Aspetti culturali, religiosi e politici del Settecento italiano. Gaetano Gasperoni (*Archivio Storico Italiano*, XXI, 2).

The Historiography of the Risorgimento since 1920. K. R. Greenfield (*Journal of Modern History*, March).

Saint Bridget of Sweden. Alice Curtayne (*Missionary*, March).

Saint Brigitta of Sweden. Selma Legerlöf (*Commonweal*, March 29).

BRITISH EMPIRE

Bibliographical Aids to Research (continued). (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, February). General lists of books and periodicals printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

Professor Pollard, Mr. Belloc, and the Abbé Constant: a Question of Evidence. Andrew Beck (*Clergy Review*, March).

English Book-Right. J. E. A. Jolliffe (*English Historical Review*, January).

La romanidad de S. Beda el Venerable. J. M. Sarabia (*Estudios Ecclesiasticos*, January).

St. Bede the Venerable, 672-735. Archbishop Goodier (*Month*, March).

The Last Catholic King of England. Cyril Clemens (*Catholic World*, February).

The Schism of Henry VIII in the Light of Authentic Scholarship. R. J. S. Hoffman (*Catholic World*, February).

Blessed Thomas More, Humanist and Catholic. P. E. Hallett (*Pax*, March).

A Noble Friendship: Blessed John Fisher and Lady Margaret Beaufort. N. M. Wilby (*Month*, March).

Cranmer's Conversion. W. P. Upton (*Churchman*, January).

Hugh James Rose and the Anglican Revival. D. J. Bellew (*Thought*, March).

Cardinal Bourne. Archbishop Goodier (*Month*, February).

Cardinal Bourne. Thomas Hooley (*Clergy Review*, February).

Cardinal Bourne. Shane Leslie (*Commonweal*, February 22).

The Case of Father (John) Sergeant. R. J. Murphy, S. J. (*Australasian Catholic Record*, January).

John Bede Polding, III. J. J. McGovern (*Australasian Catholic Record*, January).

The Origin of the Name of Glastonbury. L. H. Gray (*Speculum*, January).

The Financial Condition of the See of Canterbury, 1279-1292. Dorothy Sutcliffe (*Speculum*, January).

St. Patrick's Birthplace. G. H. Wheeler (*English Historical Review*, January).

Anglo-Norman Dublin and Diocese. M. V. Ronan (*Irish Ecclesistical Record*, February, March).

The Consistency of the Martyrs (Fisher and More). Edward Quinn (*Downside Review*, January).

The Influence of Irish Monks on Merovingian Diocesan Organization. Helen R. Bittermann (*American Historical Review*, January).

Provincial Archives in Canada. G. W. Brown (*Canadian Historical Review*, March).

Mgr. Joseph-Octave Plessis, Archevêque de Québec, et les premiers Evêques catholiques des États-Unis. Ivanhoe Caron (*Mêmoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, XXVIII, 1934).

UNITED STATES

Representations of Saint Dominic in the United States. C. M. Daley, O. P. (*Liturgical Arts*, 3d-4th quarters, 1934).

The Myth of the Kensington Rune Stone. M. M. Quaife (*New England Quarterly*, December).

The Location of the Tejas Indian Village (San Pedro) and the Spanish Missions in Houston County, Texas. Albert Woldert (*Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, January).

Education in the Puritan Colonies. C. K. Shipton (*New England Quarterly*, December).

Mistress Margaret Brent, Spinster. Julia C. Spruill (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, December).

The Protestant Counter-Reformation in America. D. R. Fox (*New York History*, January).

William Gaston: Southern Federalist of the Old School and His Yankee Friends (1778-1844). R. D. W. Connor (*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 43, pt. 2).

George Bancroft, 1834-1934. Michael Kraus (*New England Quarterly*, December).

Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan. A. E. Peterson (*New York History*, January).

Pioneers of the Catholic Press. T. F. Meehan (*America*, March 16).

More about Father Badin. W. J. Howlett (*Voice*, February).

Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli: Interpreter of Catholic Action. P. L. Johnson (*Salesianum*, January).

Concerning St. Joseph's Parish, St. Louis, in 1849. Georg Timpe, P. S. M. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, February).

A Significant Jubilee for Negro Catholics. J. T. Gillard, S. S. J. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, March). Commission for Indian and Negro Missions, 1884.

Catholic Cleveland: a Brief History of the Church in the Diocese. A. M. Fitzpatrick (*Emmanuel*, March).

BOOKS RECEIVED

(*Mention here does not preclude extended notice in the REVIEW.*)

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Atiya, A. S., *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London: Methuen, 1934, pp. xii, 234, 10/6).

Becker, Carl L., *Everyman His Own Historian* (New York: Crofts, 1935, pp. 325, $5.00).

Belloc, Hilaire, *Milton* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1935, pp. 313, $4.00).

Bretonnet, Pierre-Marie, *Le Chanoine Mangou et la première Communauté sacerdotale de Larchant* (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1934, pp. xxi, 198).

Bryant, Arthur, *The England of Charles II* (New York: Longmans Green & Co., 1935, pp. xv, 202, $2.00).

Caron, Ivanhoe, *Mgr. Joseph-Octave Plessis, Archevêque de Québec, et les premiers Evêques Catholiques des Etats-Unis* (Ottawa: La Société Royale, 1934, pp. 119, 138).

Cheshire, G. C., *Private International Law* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1935, pp. lx, 584).

Churchman-Atwood-Racine, *A First Book in French* (New York: Macmillan, 1935, pp. xvi, 561, $1.76).

Cram, Ralph Adams, *Convictions and Controversies* (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1935, pp. viii, 282, $2.50).

d'Assisi, Mother Francis, O. S. U., *Sant' Angela of the Ursulines* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1934, pp. ix, 172, $1.50).

Erman, Adolf, *Die Religion der Ägypter* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1934, pp. xvi, 469).

Evans, George Hill, *The Burning of the Mount Benedict Ursuline Community House* (Somerville, Mass.: Somerville Pub. Library, 1934, pp. 30).

Gogon, H., *Ethics of Peace and War* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1935, pp. xii, 68).

Gathorne, Hardy C. M., *A Short History of International Affairs: 1920-1934* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1934, pp. vii, 351).

Hayes, Richard, *Irish Swordsmen of France* (Dublin: Gill & Son, 1934, pp. xix, 307, 15 s).

Henry, Rt. Rev. Msgr. H. T., *The Lord's Prayer: A Course of Seven Lenten Sermons* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1935, pp. 96).

MacNamara, O., *The Emerald Pawn* (Dublin: Gill & Son, 1934, pp. viii, 300, 7/6).

Marucchi, Orazio, *Pietro e Paolo a Roma* (Turin: Marietti, 1934, pp. xv, 206).

McLaughlin, Andrew G., *A Constitutional History of the United States* (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1935, pp. xi, 833).

Morrison, Bakewell, S. J., *The Catholic Church and the Modern Mind* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1933, pp. xv, 380).

N. C. E. A., *Report of Proceedings and Addresses of the 31st Annual Meeting, Chicago, Ill.* (Washington, D. C., N. C. E. A., 1934, pp. 315).

Newdigate, Charles A., S. J., *The Catholic Church under Henry VIII* (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1935, pp. 40, 1/6).

Nettels, Curtis Putnam, *The Money Supply of the American Colonies Before*

1720 (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1934, pp. 300, $2.00, paper).

Odum, Howard W., *The Regional Approach to National Social Planning* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1935, pp. 31).

O'Rourke, Vernon A., *The Juristic Status of Egypt and the Sudan*, Series LIII, No. 1, J. H. U. Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1935, pp. 184).

Regout, Robert, S. J., *La Doctrine de la Guerre juste de Saint Augustin à nos Jours* (Paris: Editions A. Pedone, 1935, pp. 348, 50 fr.).

Rose, J. Holland, *The Mediterranean in the Ancient World* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1934, pp. xi, 184, $2.50).

Rouse, M. F. (Brother Bede, C. F. X.), *A Study of the Development of Negro Education under Catholic Auspices in Maryland and the District of Columbia* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1935, pp. ix, 125).

Sears, Louis M., *History of American Foreign Relations* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 2nd ed., 1935, pp. xiv, 706, $3.50).

Smith, George H. E. and Beard, Charles A., *The Recovery Program* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 59, $0.48).

Smith, Nila Banton, *American Reading Instruction* (New York: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1934, pp. x, 96, $1.96).

Schneider, George, *Theory and History of Bibliography.* Translated by Ralph R. Shaw (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934, pp. xix, 306, $3.75).

Ter Haar, F., C. SS. R., *Casus Conscientiae de Praecipuis hujus Aetatis Peccandi Occasionibus* (Turin: Marietti, 1934, pp. viii, 183).

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Townsend, Anselm, O. P. (Ed.), *Dominican Spirituality* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1934, pp. ix, 134, $1.25).

Vance, Rupert B., *Regional Reconstruction: A Way out for the South* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina, 1935, pp. 31).

Walsh, J. J., *Education of the Founding Fathers of the Republic* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1935, pp. xii, 377, $3.50).

Ward, Leo Richard, *Values and Reality a Preface to Sane Living* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1935, pp. 331, $3.00).

Ward, Patrick J., *Relations Between France and Italy* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic Asssociation for International Peace, 1934, pp. 47, $0.10).

Willys, Rufus Kay, *Pioneer Padre: The Life and Time of Eusebio Francisco Kino* (Dallas, Texas: Southwest Press, 1935, pp. xi, 230, $3.00).

Wrong, George M., *Canada and the American Revolution* (New York: Macmillan, 1935, pp. xii, 497, $5.00).

Willard, James Field, *Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property 1290-1934: A Study in Mediaeval English Financial Administration* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy, 1934, pp. xii, 357).

Williams, Joseph J., S. J., *Psychic Phenomena of Jamaica* (New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1934, pp. 309, $2.50).

Zeil, P. T., *Iesus in Ore Prophetarum: Tractatus de Vaticiniis Messianicis iuxta A. Bonaventurae doctrinam Exaratus* (Turin: Marietti, 1934, pp. 230).

CONTRIBUTORS OF ARTICLES

Rev. JOHN LAFARGE is the son of the great American artist, John LaFarge; he is a graduate of the Universities of Harvard and of Innsbruck. Since 1926, he has been on the editorial staff of *America* and *Thought*. He was second vice-president of the ASSOCIATION in 1934. Among his published works is *The Jesuits in Modern Times* (1928).

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL is a graduate of Harvard University and for many years was connected with the Newberry Library in Chicago. He has contributed to *Mid-America, Catholic World,* and this REVIEW.

Rev. Dr. ROBERT J. WHITE, formerly Assistant District Attorney of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, and National Chaplain of the American Legion, is a member of the faculty of the School of Law in the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.